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Sá Carvalho, Carolina

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TRACES OF THE UNSEEN

CAROLINA
SÁ CARVALHO

PHOTOGRAPHY, VIOLENCE, AND MODERNIZATION IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY LATIN AMERICA

Traces of the Unseen

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Traces of the Unseen

Photography, Violence, and Modernization in Early Twentieth-Century Latin America

Carolina Sá Carvalho

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To Mauricio and Lua

Contents

Acknowledgments ix

Introduction 3

Chapter 1. Corpse: The Nation in a Decomposing Portrait 27

Chapter 2. Scars: Humanitarianism and the Colonial Point of View 83

Chapter 3. Debris: The Indigenous Past in an Ethnographer's Dream 125

Chapter 4. Shadows: The Amazonian Worker and the Modernist Traveler 189

Epilogue: Fire 233

Notes 241

Bibliography 283

Index 301

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Traces of the Unseen

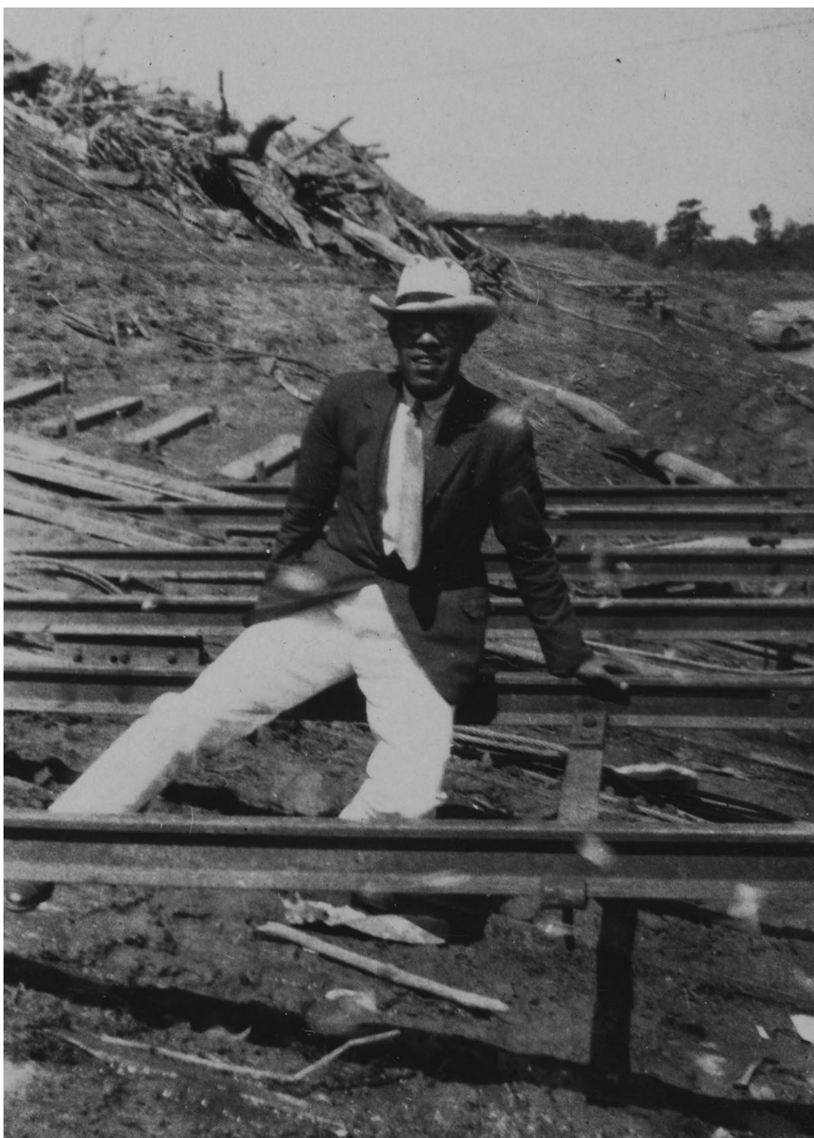


Figure 0.1. “Chapéu-de-chile no porto de Porto Velho”; “Na verdade estou sentado nesses trilhos de Porto Velho por causa das borboletas que estão me rodeando, amarelinhas e a objectiva esqueceu de registrar. Era pra fotar as borboletas.” (“Straw hat at the port of Porto Velho”; “Actually, I am sitting on these tracks in Porto Velho because of the butterflies that surround me, all yellow, and the lens forgot to register them. It should have photographed the butterflies.”) Photograph by Mário de Andrade. July 11, 1927. Reproduced by permission of Arquivo IEB-USP, Fundo Mário de Andrade, código de referência: MA-F-0431.

Introduction

Let us begin at the end, with the image discussed in the last chapter of this book. It is a portrait of the Brazilian avant-garde writer Mário de Andrade, sitting on some train tracks in the Amazonian city of Porto Velho on July 11, 1927 (figure 0.1). Located on the banks of the Madeira River, Porto Velho served as the base of operations for the construction of the Madeira-Mamoré Railway between 1907 and 1912. That monumental engineering project, intended to connect Bolivia's rubber industry to the Amazon basin, was completed just when the Amazonian rubber economy was entering its decline. Though touted as the arrival of the most advanced technological and commercial enterprise in the hinterlands of Latin America, the railway was born obsolete. In the photograph, Mário de Andrade, self-proclaimed tourist apprentice, poses among the railway rubble wearing his new *chapéu-de-chile*, an artisanal straw hat, and a tidy outfit. It is not clear why he sits there, among the rubble.[1] The portrait's background is not a tropical tree, a picturesque house, or a modern train; it is not even ruins, but leftover crossties and wretched trees. Andrade's photograph talks about the incorporation of the Amazon into global market relations, about environmental destruction in the aftermath of infrastructural development, and about the circulation of tourists and commodities. But the photograph is also about something else, something that might not be visible at first sight.

In his diary, Andrade noted that he felt as if he were being watched by the workers who had died during the construction of the Madeira-

Mamoré line, popularly known as the "devil's railway," and he recounted an anecdote circulated at the time of its construction saying that each crosstie corresponded to one dead worker.[2] The "tourist" smiles at the camera as he sits on these tracks, which now appear to us as epitaphs for dead workers. We now see in this image the traces of the exploitation of labor and natural resources. We see Andrade sitting on, or sitting with, the traces of destruction, and appearing both happy, as a tourist should be, and uncomfortable. In this unstable, ambiguous position, he maintains his own participation—and consequently our participation, as consumers of images—in the transformation of the Amazonian environment.

In the photograph's humorous caption, Andrade asks us to bear witness to yet another absence: the yellow butterflies that the lens forgot to register. On closer examination, we are able to see the shadowy marks left by the butterflies upon the film. Amazonian nature, often portrayed in literature and photography as sublime, appears here only in its most subtle form, as a survivor in the aftermath of destruction. In teaching us how to see the entanglement of almost invisible traces of living butterflies and dead workers, artisanal hats and industrial tracks, and the footprints left by tourists and commodities, Andrade's combination of photography and text reminds us of the temporality of multiple mediations, as well as of the multilayered time of Amazonian modernity.

In this book, I examine how traces of violence were mobilized as visual evidence of the destructive processes of modernization in early twentieth-century Latin American regions at the edges of an expanding capitalist world. While examining the rapid transformations unleashed by the development of railways, telegraph lines, and photography, I challenge the temporal understanding of technological modernity as necessarily bringing about an acceleration of time by addressing the multiple ways of registering the heterogenous temporalities of modernity through visual technologies. The main subject of this book is the production of different pedagogies of the gaze that articulated photographs and texts in order to teach increasingly connected urban publics what to see in these traces of destruction and how to interpret these traces within the larger context of capitalist expansion. What concepts of history and ideas about modernization did these pedagogies convey? How did they conceive of the role of the state and the agency of the public in the construction of these projects? What practices and politics of seeing do they imply? While dialoguing with the history of photography and discussions about the ontological status of the photographic,

I investigate how functions of the medium were embedded in disputed concepts of modernity and in historically specific practices of seeing within the (geo)political peripheries of capitalism.

This landscape of heterogeneous practices includes works that have not typically been considered jointly, as they have been separated by national and disciplinary boundaries: the Brazilian journalist and engineer Euclides da Cunha's 1902 book *Os sertões*, decrying the state-led massacre of the rebellious peasant community of Belo Monte (or Canudos); letters, reports, and photographs circulated by the Irish humanitarian Roger Casement in order to build a consensus to stop the violence of a rubber extraction company in the Amazonian region of the Putumayo; the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss's critique of the expansion of "mechanized civilization" in his accounts of his 1930s encounters with Indigenous communities in central Brazil; and the Brazilian writer Mário de Andrade's 1927 travel diaries, in which he reflects on being a spectator of human and environmental exploitation in the Brazilian and Peruvian Amazon.

PHOTOGRAPHIC TRACES

By the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, Latin America's "hinterlands," or regions that had previously enjoyed relative autonomy or neglect due to their remoteness from urban centers, were being violently incorporated into the political governance of expanding nation-states and the channels of global circuits of exchange. Transnational corporations extracted raw materials, such as Amazonian rubber, to feed the most lucrative industries at the time; spectacular infrastructural works financed by local governments and foreign capital, such as railways and telegraph lines, promised to connect "remote" regions—swampy forests or desert plains—to urban and coastal cities, and hence to international markets; and rural areas previously regulated according to traditional labor relations and patriarchal modes of authority were (albeit partially) assimilated into the governance of modern nation-states.

The concurrent processes of the consolidation of Latin American nation-states and of the integration of the interiors of the region into a global supply chain were therefore deeply connected,[3] although encompassing discrete practices and symbolic patterns of territorialization. While foreign investments were crucial to the expansion of state power,

in the public realm local political elites often portrayed their nations' ability to take part in a rising global economy as a sign of their progress towards modernity. Debates on what this process of modernization should look like encompassed issues such as the transformation of vast plains, deserts, or forests into productive extractive zones and the challenges of integrating their populations into the national and global economies as laborers.[4]

In an ironic commentary about the intertwined processes of state and capitalist expansion in Brazil, the Brazilian writer Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis suggested in an 1897 *crônica* (a short essay) for the Rio de Janeiro newspaper *A Gazeta de Notícias* that news about the ongoing clashes between the Brazilian military and a rebellious peasant community in the Brazilian Northeast had reached New York and London, where "the name Antônio Conselheiro"—the community's religious leader—"caused our stock prices to decline."[5] That same year, this community, known as Canudos and portrayed in the newspapers as fanatical and regressive, was entirely wiped out by the Brazilian army in the name of modernization. It is as if history—understood as the global/historical fulfillment of the European subject's domination over its others[6]—were trying to catch up with a delay on the peripheries of global capitalism.

Simultaneously, early twentieth-century developments in the democratization of photographic technology such as the appearance of lightweight cameras, the reduction of film exposure times, and the availability of cheaper printing processes such as the halftone process seemed to consolidate the affinity of the photographic medium with the forward sweep of modernity and its promise to shrink distances and accelerate time. Machado de Assis, again in response to media attention to the rebellious peasant community in the backlands of Brazil, suggested that a photographer should "bring back" the traits of the mysterious prophet Antônio Conselheiro and hence "reveal the truth about the sect."[7] Machado's comment articulates how photography was used to generate empirical knowledge about "remote" regions and racialized subjects in the process of engulfment of these other worlds and peoples into the historical progress of capitalist modernity. If, in the words of anthropologist Anna Tsing, "when the spectacle passes on, what is left is rubble and mud, the residues of success and failure,"[8] what I will examine in this book is what was made of the photographic traces of the rubble and corpses, such as those of Canudos, in the aftermath of spectacular destruction. The photographs of traces of destruction in regions portrayed as frontiers of capitalist modernity, I argue, engendered new

practices of looking, new forms of articulation between spectatorship and politics, in early twentieth-century metropolitan areas.

Seminal works on early twentieth-century photography in Latin America have explored the relationship between the medium itself and the means of observing, ordering, storing, and exhibiting the human and natural resources which were instrumental for the enhancement of state power and capitalism. As Jens Andermann has argued, photography was not only a tool of state and capitalist territorialization in Latin America, but played a central role in the organization of fields of visibility that allowed the state to be configured as an independent agent "set apart from social practices—as a way of seeing that yielded an impersonal, 'objective' type of knowledge."[9] In her important book on early twentieth-century photography and film in Brazil, Luciana Martins suggested ways in which the photographic medium itself incorporated the temporality of progress.[10] Focusing on nineteenth-century Brazil, Natalia Brizuela challenges the oft-discussed association between photography and positivism during that period, and explores the role of landscape photography in the production of a desired, even enchanted, geography of a tropical empire.[11] Other authors, such as the historian Kevin Coleman, have examined the archives of imperialist corporations, such as the United Fruit Company, not only to identify the use of new techniques of observation to discipline labor, but also to discover how the subjects of photographs participated in shaping their own images.[12] Finally, Latin American photographers who used the visual languages of imperialism in order to subvert them have also garnered attention. In this sense, Esther Gabara has argued that Mário de Andrade parodied the genres of travel photography—akin to colonizers and explorers, who produced landscapes to transform the spaces they traveled as lands destined for acquisition, as well as to "members of the international avant-garde who visited Brazil, such as Blaise Cendrars and Filippo Marinetti"—in order to foreground rather than erase the power relations implicit in them.[13]

This book also engages with the history of the affinities between photography and the expansionist impulse of nation-states and global capitalist networks, but it does so in order to unearth multiple, contested temporalities of technological modernity. I recount, for example, how the American photographer Dana Merrill was hired by the transnational Brazil Railway Company to document and publicize the monumental advance of the railway into the Amazonian territory. In dozens of Merrill's photographs of the railway, the organization of the

frame follows the rules of perspective, performing/enacting the heroic forward movement of the railway into the rainforest. Identifying this linear mode of spatial-temporal organization helps us understand, for example, Mário de Andrade's effort to make visible the unseen traces of labor and resilient butterflies, among the leftovers from the earlier infrastructure development. My focus is not only on how Andrade or other photographers enact, subvert, or resist the expansionist gaze of the explorer, but also on the formal strategies they use, including the way they caption their images in order to register modernity as multilayered strata of the transformations, migrations, and "friction," to use Tsing's term, of commodities, work, tourists, meanings, and nature. In placing his own (privileged) body among railway debris, commodities, resilient butterflies, and invisibilized workers, Andrade recognizes the ongoing and unequal production and distribution of destruction on the world stage.

Whereas the Brazilian writer traveled along a railway built with global capital and labor, photographing a multilayered, globally positioned, Amazonian modernity, the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss traveled along the Brazilian state-commissioned Rondon telegraph lines in central Brazil a decade later, in 1935–36 and 1938, trying to register the traces of destruction as signs of an irreversible path towards the end of difference itself.[14] In his account of a series of encounters with Indigenous communities that started with his "disappointing" visit to the spoiled Kaingang (*Tristes tropiques*, 153) and with the Kadiwéu, who, according to Lévi-Strauss, lived like "ragged peasants" (177), the anthropologist denounces Western civilization's global project of assimilation and homogenization. In Lévi-Strauss's account of destruction, the photographer's challenge is twofold: to make the Indigenous communities he encountered visible as the leftover debris of what these "primitive" cultures once were, and to make clear that technology, including both the telegraph lines and photographic technology, had participated in their destruction. Although they both partook in a similar modernist critique of photographic realism and its exoticizing tendencies, Andrade and Lévi-Strauss offer contrasting pedagogies of the gaze: while Andrade proposes a phenomenology of looking, Lévi-Strauss eschews the phenomenological aspect of the photographic encounter; while Andrade's use of images and texts destabilizes the temporal coordinates of the photographic referent, Lévi-Strauss combines captions, drawings, and photographs in order to focus on symbolic data—such as the Kadiwéu body painting—as what remains to be seen of lost

"primitive" civilizations. Through an examination of such instances in which technological modernity addressed its own debris, I investigate how the photographic medium becomes embedded in disputed visions of history.

While dialoguing with works that discuss the formation of modes of seeing that allowed Indigenous lands to be imagined as frontiers of capitalist modernization, I shift the focus to a parallel—and overlooked—history[15] of photography and modernization in Latin America: the piling up of *traces* of history's destructive force. This reference to Walter Benjamin's "angel of history" is intentional: the figure of the angel who stares with wide-open eyes at the debris of history piled up at his feet while the storm of progress propels him toward the future, against which he turns his back, is familiar to readers of photographic theory. Photography scholars have argued that Benjamin, particularly in his essay "Theses on the Philosophy of History," uses photography as a metaphor for a relationship between past and present that is dialectical instead of progressive.[16] In a photograph, past, present, and future are not experienced as continuous and linear, but rather as spatial, an imagistic space that Benjamin calls a "monad."[17] For those concerned with Benjamin's reading of photography or with a photographic reading of Benjamin, the photographic image is historical not when we see in it an accurate image of the past, but when it breaks with the continuum of history.

My use of the term "traces" is marked by these efforts to release the understanding of photography from linear, chronological time, and to instead read in photographic images the claims of the dead, the wounded, and the exploited. The notion of the trace, which Benjamin took from Sigmund Freud's memory traces, alludes to the similarities between memory and photography as material vestiges, marks of something that has passed, even if it was never consciously seen, or of something that is on the verge of disappearing but does not do so completely. It refers to the heterogeneous temporality of the present, or the absent part of a visual presence. The concept of the "trace," which can be applied to the figures examined in each of this book's chapters—corpse, scar, debris, and shadow—allows me to think about photography beyond the emphasis on the representation of the past.

But my work also takes a different path, in that I find the traces of destruction as they were made visible to a certain public, and were captured in artifacts and language that tried to impose a meaning on the event recorded in the photograph, and to stabilize the determination of

its context. When I find photographs of destruction as they circulated at the beginning of the twentieth century, I already find them captured in montages of images and texts, framed, captioned, cropped, inserted into reports, books, or newspapers that developed singular pedagogies of the gaze in order to teach urban publics what to see in these traces—what Indigenous or rural communities once were, the horror of their destruction, and what future nationally and internationally integrated territories should look like. I examine how photographic indexical realism was mobilized to provide what I call "ethical knowledge"—knowledge not only of what "is," but of what "should be"—in order to demand specific commitments from the public. That these attempts were unsuccessful is also part of my argument. Even though these traces are temporalized and narrativized in certain ways, they also threaten to disintegrate narratives that attempt to place them at the service of national teleologies, reformist agendas, catastrophic narratives, or international humanitarian campaigns. Ultimately, while examining how these traces of destruction were put into the service of various projects of modernity, I suggest that they can never be entirely subsumed by the narratives of progress or catastrophe in which they are often inscribed; rather, these photographs inevitably create a tension within the text-image artifacts in which they are embedded.

Walter Benjamin has also been an enduring reference in works about the ruins left behind by the destructive processes of imperial history. In questioning capitalism's stress on the positivity of historical and material reality—the historical account that justifies the present as it is and the value of things as they are—Benjamin left a lasting mark on efforts to understand the political meaning of ruins as what was negated and destroyed in order for the present to acquire its positive form. Recent works in the field of anthropology have productively shifted debate about Benjamin's optics of ruins to what Ann Stoler has called "processes of ruination," along with their tangible effects and the uneven temporal sedimentation that imperialist formations leave behind. Works such as those of Stoler and Gastón Gordillo respond to the reification of ruins, and their readily recognizable forms, by paying attention to formless and sometimes invisible debris, rubble, or remains that are less available to scrutiny.[18] In opposition to modernist readings of ruins, both scholars have insisted that we should not contribute to further petrifying these debris, but examine their "vital refiguration" in specific, localized contexts (Stoler, *Imperial Debris*, 10). Stoler proposes paying attention to ruination as an active "ongoing process that allocates im-

perial debris differentially," as well as attending to the political lives of ruins (7–8). At stake is not so much a particular ruin in itself, but the perceptions and practices through which people entangled with such formations deal with them. Similar to Stoler, Gordillo's work on "rubble" in the Argentine Chaco region takes into account the multiplicity of places and forms taken by the debris of new and old waves of destruction. In another inspiring work, Anna Tsing develops the concept of "friction" in order to account for the very material "grip of worldly encounters," offering a way of understanding both environmental destruction and environmental activism as messy entanglements in the context of global interactions (*Friction*, 1). As much as these works are influenced by Benjamin's emphasis on seeing ruins as traces that mark the fragility of power, they also examine remains as what people are left with, and detail people's engagements with these traces. In other words, they ask what people do with them. Although inspired by these anthropological works' focus on the revitalization of traces of violence in the political present, I diverge from their focus in that I examine not people who live amid the ruins, but how traces of violence are made visible by photographers, humanitarian activists, anthropologists, and journalists in order to demand specific modes of engagement from those who do not live among them.

While I consider specific historical processes of ruination that produce corpses, scars, and debris, the traces I mainly refer to in this book are photographs. More specifically, they are photographs that fold the indexical materiality of debris, scars, and corpses—photographs whose appeal comes from the fact that they are indexical traces of indexical traces. I examine, for example, how humanitarians obsessively photographed scars—marks of the lash—on the bodies of Indigenous people as proof, or "analogical verification," to use Elaine Scarry's term, of violence.[19] But as I argue throughout this study, photography's double indexicality was always both powerful and unstable as a form of evidence; it had to be combined with other texts and images in order to teach the viewer how to interpret them temporally, how to attribute past causes and future responsibilities. In the case of photographs of the corpses of those killed for resisting the territorialization of the state's power, as was the case in the Canudos Campaign, this instability of the trace is potentially dangerous. The pasts and futures contained in the traces of Canudos are a reminder that the nation-state has never been inevitable as a historical outcome. In order to fix the meaning of the historical process that produced these corpses, these photographs were

inserted into narratives that directed the public to see the violence that produced these corpses as part of a (mis)step in the (otherwise unavoidable) history of nation-state building. Thus, I focus on the aesthetic and political projects involved in the inscription of these traces in photo-text artifacts that allowed them to circulate beyond the specific place where they accumulated and to make claims on the future.

The concept of the trace also relates to the material dimension of photography. In order to study the politics of looking at the destructive facets of early twentieth-century modernizing projects, it is crucial to take into consideration the concrete ways in which these photographic traces of violence reached certain publics, and circulated in national, regional, and transatlantic channels. It is important to examine how these images began to interact with other images and commodities that were part of an increasing flow of goods and people from extractive zones to metropolitan areas, forming what the Latin Americanist anthropologist Deborah Poole calls "visual economies."[20] By choosing the term "visual economy," instead of "visual culture," Poole emphasizes image circulation as embedded in "political and class structure as well as the production and exchange of material goods or commodities that form the life blood of modernity" (*Vision, Race and Modernity*, 8). The increasing use of photographs to denounce crimes committed in the name of modernization both activated existing circuits of image exchange and created new networks and communities of feeling and action. One example is the British consul Roger Casement's campaign in the 1910s to raise awareness about the atrocities committed by the multinational rubber industry against Indigenous communities in the Upper Putumayo region in the Peruvian Amazon. Casement circulated images of Bora and Huitoto peoples not only among those involved in the British Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society, but also among philanthropists and politicians in Britain and the United States, and among Irish nationalists, thus connecting global humanitarian circuits to the Irish nationalist cause.

In sum, the concept of the trace sits at the node of three important axes of this work: first, the question of the revitalization of remnants of processes of modernization and ruination in early twentieth-century Latin America; second, the indexical dimension of photography and its relationship to disputed concepts of history; and third, the material dimension of these traces that requires us to pay attention to historically specific practices of seeing and to channels of circulation and exhibition—including books, newspapers, lantern slides, reports, and

letters—in order to interpret the various modes of engagement they fostered.

MONTAGE, CROPPING, CAPTIONING, AND EKPHRASIS

My focus on the circulation of photographs also allows me to explore temporal processes related to the materiality of photographic archives: according to what ethical and aesthetic criteria are some images published and others kept in the dark? How are images concealed or divulged through the processes of cropping, reframing, captioning, or ekphrasis? It is crucial to note that these photographs rarely appear alone. On the contrary, they emerge as multimedia artifacts, combined with texts, paintings, graphics, and drawings. A photographic image of an emaciated Huitoto body might be combined with a graph that shows the decrease in the Huitoto population at different historical moments, thus contextualizing the destruction caused by the rubber industry in the 1910s within a broader history of imperialist extractivism. A typical caption for this photograph would further generalize its subject, suggesting that the photographed subject is one example of many men and women starved and killed by the rubber industry. The same photograph, however, might be presented alongside an ethnographic text that talks about the rich cultural organization of the Huitoto, or alongside a painting of a Huitoto in full ritual attire, thus teaching the viewer to see the cultural value and humanity in the photographed body on which the trace of violence is inscribed. The same photograph may, instead, have been inserted into a narrative that focuses on a collective, diffuse responsibility for this violence, in order to reinforce the idea that the Huitoto community has already been decimated, sentenced to history, and that the public should focus their efforts on the construction of a unified national culture. These examples are not all historically accurate, although they are common strategies for the presentation of photographs of atrocity that I explore. Even though the formal presentations of photographic traces of destruction analyzed in this book are multiple and distinct, the ways in which I approach them are similar. Instead of considering the photographs as mere illustrations of ideas and narratives, or as testimonial sources collected by travelers for narrative reconstruction after the fact, I read these photographic materials as fragments that have been carefully selected, cropped, captioned, and rearranged in order to convey a desired political meaning.

This reading allows for two simultaneous gestures: first, it enables the examination of these images in their instability; that is, as having meanings and trajectories that are not subsumed by the assemblages in which they are inserted. I take as a point of departure that these images have "social biographies" that go beyond the specific historical and political contexts I analyze.[21] Second, this approach allows for a rereading of the artifacts in which these images are inscribed. Some of these artifacts are canonical books such as Euclides da Cunha's *Os sertões* or Claude Lévi-Strauss's *Tristes tropiques*. While the fact that these books included photographs has been mostly ignored or viewed as an unimportant detail, I argue that the ways they frame, caption, crop, or overwrite photographs are crucial to an understanding of how they constitute specific politics of seeing past and ongoing traces of destruction on the peripheries of capitalism.

An important reference in the development of my methodological approach to these arrangements of images and texts is Roland Barthes's suggestion, in his essay "The Third Meaning," that montage works not only in favor of a narrative, but also against the "disruptive force" of a film still.[22] Although his essay focuses on film, specifically on Sergei Eisenstein's film stills, Barthes's emphasis on the film still makes his approach to "montage" productive for articulating the difference between photographs and narratives in a broader sense. In fact, it is fair to say that his essay approaches film from the point of view of photography. It is here that Barthes articulates for the first time an aspect of the photographic image that he will later call, in *Camera Lucida*, the "punctum."[23] However, instead of the sharp point of the photographic image that "pricks" or "wounds," Barthes suggests in "The Third Meaning" that every film still, even the most commonplace one, has an "obtuse meaning" that opens up other possible meanings (56–65). The role of the film editor is to control the excessive, potentially explosive force of the still image. If, on the one hand, the film still can be read as part of the diegetic dimension of the film, as a film's fragment each still also becomes an excess. In other words, the still can be read as both part of the narrative and as its obstacle, to which the montage acts as its necessary opposition. Similarly, by departing from the photographic image, I reread assemblages of images and texts as efforts to control the temporal unfolding of the photograph. If photographic traces always work both in favor of the narrative in which they are inserted and against it, this is because, as Elizabeth Edwards suggests, of the "multiplicity of possibilities, histories, and counter histories lodged within photo-

graphs" (*Raw Histories*, 12). Controlling these traces can therefore have deep political implications.

While Barthes's concept of montage is useful for understanding the intentional organization of images and texts that I analyze in this book, the formal procedures employed by these combinations are varied and not all easily defined as montage. Some of them have been widely discussed in the history of photography, such as, for example, captioning and cropping, which appear in almost all of the chapters of this book. There are many possible reasons for a photograph to be cropped; for example, to isolate the subject of the gaze from background "disturbances." These disturbances can be reminders of things that contradict the narrative in which the photograph is inserted. They could, for example, be traces of the presence of Western artifacts in the image of a supposedly isolated Indigenous group. Or they could be traces of the ongoing cultural richness of a certain Indigenous group, contradicting the catastrophic narrative of the elimination of otherness. In this sense, cropping would also act to homogenize the heterogeneous temporalities of modernity registered in the photograph.

The common practice of captioning photographs has frequently been analyzed in relation to photography's supposed lack of eloquence. In Susan Sontag's famous words, captions stand as photography's "missing voice, and [they are] expected to speak for truth."[24] Captions, in this sense, can serve to explain and contextualize what images can only show, or to control photography's visual excess, naming what should be in focus in the image. Captions are, for Sontag, the work of moralists who (naively) hope that "words will save the picture" (*On Photography*, 83), even though no caption can entirely control the multiple meanings contained in a photograph. What is usually forgotten when scholars cite Sontag's remarks about captions is that in the same passage, she suggests that what captions cannot do is prevent the "acquisitive mentality" or the "aesthetic relation to their subject that all photography proposes" (84). For Sontag, photography's meanings, in contrast to text, are unstable, while their acquisitive mode of engagement remains the same. I argue, on the contrary, that captions can work not only to control the meaning of a photograph, but also to provoke specific kinds of engagement with a photographic image and subject. They can demand that we look at the image again, to extend our experience of looking in order to see something we have not yet seen, or they might request that we look away from the image towards what is out of the frame. The layers of captions in Mário de Andrade's photographs of the Amazon,

for example, work to destabilize the photographed subject instead of fixing it within one temporal coordinate. Ultimately, captions take part in different pedagogies of seeing that teach not only what to see, but how to look at traces of destruction in the transformed landscapes of extractive capitalist modernity.

Other formal strategies that I consider have not been frequently explored in the context of photographic theory and history. I analyze, for example, the aesthetic and political dimensions of the use of ekphrasis—the verbal representation of a visual representation—in Euclides da Cunha's efforts to control the meaning of photographs of the Canudos military campaign in his book *Os sertões*. I read his use of ekphrasis in relation to the book's narrative of the engulfment of otherness in the text of the nation. In contrast, I also discuss the multiplication of various media and genres of visual representation in Roger Casement's attempts to connect the marks of violence committed against Amazonian Indigenous communities by rubber traders to an extended history and geography of colonialism. Casement combined paintings and photographs in different genres, such as the ethnographic and the picturesque, and even a live presentation of Huitoto men meeting with philanthropists and journalists, with texts in order to teach the public how to see—aesthetically, scientifically, and historically—the value and humanity of the Indigenous bodies on which scars are inscribed. In several chapters, I examine how images and texts related to the same subject were circulated and exhibited, each influencing the readings of the others even if they were not arranged in the same concrete artifact (such as a book). For example, a journalistic interview with Huitoto men about the Putumayo atrocities, conducted in England while the Huitoto were posing for a painting which, in its turn, carries a resemblance to an ethnographic-like photograph, demands an engagement with the articulation of all of these media. The use of a montage of drawings and photographs in a single artifact is also discussed, specifically in my analysis of Lévi-Strauss's efforts to eschew the phenomenological dimension of the ethnographic contact, emphasizing the symbolic elements that survived what he called the "cataclysm" that had destroyed Indigenous communities in central Brazil.

I argue that these formal arrangements of images and texts were attempts not only to control the meaning of photographic traces of violence, but also to trigger specific forms of engagement with the images. By examining how these arrangements fostered specific politics and temporalities of looking and of not looking, as well as of sharing,

writing, speaking, and acting, I delve into how publics were not simply addressed by these artifacts of image and text, but were also constituted through the temporalized presentation of photographic images.

THE PUBLICS

In the beginning of the twentieth century, publics in the largest Latin American urban centers typically had low literacy rates and were obsessed with violent outbreaks. As Rielle Navitski has argued in her work on sensational cinema in Mexico and Brazil, visual representations of urban violence and armed conflicts contributed greatly to the creation of mass cultures in these regions.[25] The circulation of photographs intended to denounce crimes committed in the name of modernization worked both as part of this context and also sometimes against the language of sensationalism. In his efforts to denounce the crimes in the Putumayo, Casement, for example, expressed the need to counter the generic language of horror and the dissemination of accounts of violence in the Amazonian city of Iquitos because they prevented, rather than fostered, political mobilization and attribution of responsibility. The varied politics of looking that I analyze here, however, are related to the creation of a more exclusionary public realm formed by groups of spectators who are addressed as political actors and critical agents, and deemed to be responsible in one way or another for the destruction they were witnessing. In this context, photography was exhibited as both credible proof that something had happened—i.e., that Indigenous subjects were being flogged and forced to harvest rubber—and to show that what had happened should not have happened. There was never any consensus about how photography could provide ethical knowledge, just as there was no agreement on what modernity should look like on the peripheries of global capitalism. Divergent views on modernity and modernization were related to equally contested ideas about the agency of metropolitan publics to act politically to stop exploitation, as well as the right of Latin American states to use their monopoly on violence at their own discretion. Disputes around these issues are examined in this book insofar as they helped to shape practices of seeing in the context of the rapid processes of modernization in Latin America.

Some of the issues I articulate overlap with debates on the history of humanitarian photography and what Susan Sontag called the rise of the "quintessentially modern experience" of "being a spectator of

calamities taking place in another country."[26] Although some authors contend that the history of humanitarianism dates back to the emergence of moral sentiments in philosophical reflections of the eighteenth century connected to shifting notions of pain, from the unavoidable and God-given to the unacceptable and eradicable,[27] and to the development of a politics based on seeing the suffering of distant others,[28] as well as the rise of sentimental literature and the spread of capitalist markets,[29] it was in the second half of the nineteenth century, with antislavery and missionary movements, that international humanitarian networks became prominent among cosmopolitan publics in Western capitals.[30] In this sense, scholars have noted that the history of humanitarianism was concomitant with the birth of photography.[31] The term "humanitarian" was used for the first time in 1844 in England, just five years after the official announcement of the invention of the daguerreotype. By the end of the nineteenth century, while photographs were being increasingly used to mobilize the public in European and North American cities to mitigate the suffering of distant others, heated debates emerged about the ethical, political, and aesthetic dimensions of the photographic representation of suffering. Writing on specific examples of the use of photography in humanitarian campaigns, scholars such as Heather D. Curtis, Kevin Grant, and Sharon Sliwinski have demonstrated that many of the ethical debates about humanitarian imagery that we still see today—such as whether it furthers identification with the victims or results in feelings of indifference and disgust, or whether it triggers action or disbelief—are more than a century old.[32] If, as Thomas Laqueur has suggested, humanitarian narratives "demanded new ways of seeing" in order to keep distant others "within ethical range,"[33] various strategies for the display and circulation of images of suffering intended to effectively trigger the viewer's engagement with a given cause—lecture slides, pamphlets, books, graphs—were all being developed, tested, and criticized by the turn of the century.[34]

Another important body of work I discuss focuses not on "humanitarian photography"—the mobilization of photography in the service of humanitarian initiatives across state boundaries—but on "reformist photography," or the use of photography to pass reformist ideas and policies intended to create national communities of feeling and to inspire political action. Alan Trachtenberg's classic *Reading American Photographs*, for example, examines how photographs of urban and rural poverty played an important role in shaping the public's "attitudes towards history" and political landscapes in the United States in

the early twentieth century.[35] In his discussion of photographer Lewis Hine's images of child labor and poverty among Irish immigrants in New York in the early twentieth century, Trachtenberg brings up some important topics that I examine, such as the role of photography in prompting citizens not only to pass ameliorative legislation, but also in teaching "an art of social seeing" (*Reading American Photographs*, 192). Trachtenberg shows how Hine's aesthetic choices—including his use of diagrams and lecture slides—were tightly connected to the American philosopher and reformer John Dewey's emphasis on the role of education in the process of social betterment. Dewey's pedagogical creed, in turn, was related to the development of new ideas about knowledge and responsibility that, as historian James Kloppenberg has shown, circulated as a transatlantic discourse in philosophy and political theory between the United States and Europe between 1870 and 1920.[36] In this book, I explore further the work of Kloppenberg and Trachtenberg, in particular in my discussion of Roger Casement, who was acquainted with some of the intellectual figures and reformist ideas they mention.

Although the experience of being politically confronted by images of violence was not exclusive to North American and European publics, histories of the use of photographs of violence and injustice to form communities of sentiment and action based on humanitarianism and reformism center mostly on Europe and the United States.[37] The practices of seeing that they analyze focus on the standpoint of a subject who imagines itself responsible for the global-historical fulfillment of a universal Western subject. In this book, I look beyond early twentieth-century "humanitarianism"—an incipient network of people, practices, and ideas that revolved around institutions such as the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society—and "reformism"—a movement which encompassed a network of thinkers in Europe and the United States—to include other networks of image circulation that aimed to provide visible evidence of modernity's destructiveness. Moving away from a geography constituted by categories such as the regional or the national, these networks were sometimes transient and often composed of multiple centers and peripheries, multiple alliances, and negotiations: a Brazilian elite that had yet to come to terms with the nation's racialized difference in the construction of its projects of modernity; an attempted alliance between Irish nationalists and transnational humanitarian networks; European ethnographers and state employees on whom their fieldwork depended; and the bourgeoisie and artists questioning whether they had a role to play in furthering the public good.

By shifting the focus from organized humanitarianism and reformism to historically specific instances in which traces of destruction were circulated in order to provide an interpretive frame for the processes of modernization in Latin America, I explore underexamined practices of looking that participated in the construction of spaces where modernity's aspirations were being tested, judged, resisted, or mourned.

Much like the urban publics addressed by the text/image artifacts I analyze, the peripheral spaces that the latter try to convey are unstable and transient. Even when there is an attempt to assimilate traces of destruction to, for example, a narrative of nation-building or to present them as what characterizes the experience of modernity in a specific region, the spaces constituted through these pedagogies are porous, and are defined in relation to a contested territoriality of unsettled centers and margins. Hence, while the Amazon, which was at the center of a booming rubber industry in the first decades of the twentieth century, appears in almost every chapter of this book, this is not a book about representations of the "Amazonian region" as we define it today. In fact, I start the book with a discussion of Euclides da Cunha's question as to how to modernize the arid backlands of the Brazilian Northeast, the infamous *sertão*, a region that has been often defined in opposition to the Amazon. Rather than setting up a binary dynamic, the history of the term *sertão* itself, as well as da Cunha's role in it, is illustrative of this unstable territoriality that can encompass both the supposedly "barren" rural backlands and the "abundant" Amazonian rainforests. Nowadays often associated with the Brazilian Northeast due, in large part, to da Cunha's characterization of the region in his book *Os sertões*, the word *sertão* had been used by the Portuguese since the sixteenth century to refer to the yet-to-be conquered inlands of its overseas colonies.[38] Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the use of the term in Brazil retained some of its colonial meaning, referring to the areas considered to be bare—although often populated by Indigenous and rural communities—or yet-to-be modernized. What the canonization of the book *Os sertões* has blurred is not only this preceding, unstable meaning of the word *sertão*, but also how da Cunha's project of educating the urban public about the obstacles to and need for the modernization and integration of the peripheries of an incipient Brazil built a peculiar connection between the northeastern *sertão* and the Amazon. After the publication of *Os sertões*, da Cunha wrote a series of articles and an unfinished manuscript in which the *sertanejos* (inhabitants of the *sertão*) reappear as the main source of labor for the Amazonian rub-

ber industry. Da Cunha's texts on the Amazon shed light on his earlier incorporation of the traces of the destruction of Canudos into a broader political narrative that involves the assimilation of the *sertanejo* as the migrant worker who both occupies and transforms the "hinterlands" of the country.

While da Cunha's work suggests that the consolidation of part of the Amazon as "Brazilian" and its incorporation into a global extractive economy could be achieved through the influx of *sertanejo* manpower, Lévi-Strauss's journey through Mato Grosso up until the Amazonian region is temporalized through the narrator's desire to go back in time. As the anthropologist approaches Amazonian Indigenous groups, he gets further away from the Kadiwéu, who, according to him, lived like impoverished Brazilian peasants, and closer to what the experience of first contact with a primitive society would be like. Finally, multiple temporalities and geographies can also coexist in these politics of seeing: Roger Casement's geopolitical critique of British neocolonialism, for example, connects the exploitation of Amazonian labor to the Irish cause, whilst Mário de Andrade's Amazon goes beyond national borders and defies a homogeneous vision of the region, revealing multiple heterogeneous environments, people, and modes of life. In all these cases, the "peripheries" of capitalist modernity are given shape as unincorporated or only partly incorporated spaces into political and economic projects: a territory crisscrossed by a variety of circulating nationalities, bodies, objects, discourses, and images.[39]

This book unfolds in four chapters, each analyzing one visual trope that stands for both an evidence of violence and a temporal mode of the photographic trace: *corpse*, *scar*, *debris*, and *shadow*. Chapter 1 centers on the efforts to inscribe the corpses of the 1897 "Canudos Campaign" and its photographs into a historical narrative of the nascent Brazilian Republic and its modernizing impulses. The chapter follows the formation of an incipient public realm in Brazil at a time when photographs of current events were just beginning to circulate widely. While the halftone process, which allowed images to be printed on the same page as type, had contributed to the regular use of photographs in magazines in the United States and Europe starting in the 1880s, the press in Brazil did not regularly use images similarly until the early years of the twentieth century. The chapter is structured around the trajectory of the photographic image of prophet Antônio Conselheiro's corpse—first, as imagined and demanded by an urban public eager to see his face and framed by the press through discourses of deviance and monstrosity,

then as photographed by Flávio de Barros, who presented Conselheiro's image to urban publics via electrical projections in 1898, and finally as described by Euclides da Cunha in the final lines of *Os sertões* (1902). Reading *Os sertões* as a programmatic text, which announces a political agenda for the "humane" integration and modernization of the interior of the country, I examine how da Cunha's ekphrastic narration of the photograph of Antonio Conselheiro's corpse allowed history to be inscribed on his image. Mobilizing and tweaking transatlantic aesthetic and scientific tools of racial knowledge, *Os sertões* points toward a path for the temporalized formation of the modern Brazilian subject, capable of transforming tropical, "inhospitable" environments into productive zones. The narrative that emerges moves from the fixing of Conselheiro's dead body as modernity's racialized other to the annihilation or assimilation of otherness in the context of the nation's consolidation following the Canudos Campaign. Through the ekphrastic assimilation of the traces of destruction of Canudos in a story about national progress, da Cunha forged an (urban, literate) community of citizens that should act (through the means of science, engineering, and politics) to build a nation that demanded a restrained use of armed violence by the state, unlike that witnessed in the Canudos Campaign.

In chapter 2, I examine how humanitarian and antislavery networks exposed and circulated images of scarred trees and scarred bodies during the Amazonian rubber boom in the context of early twentieth-century global capitalism and humanitarianism. I focus on Roger Casement's insistence on a historicity of seeing that makes the Bora and Huitoto peoples' scars visible through the lens of an expanded history and geography of colonialism. As an Irishman, Casement believed he was in a privileged position to see and to teach about the violent effects of colonialism. I examine Casement's articulation of photographs, paintings, and texts, and his use of various iconographic traditions, such as the anthropometric and the picturesque, in order to demonstrate how the British consul used the Indigenous body to impart to an educated European public and its state representatives a specific pedagogy of the gaze. Casement tried to construct a public based on "a humanitarian or altruistic standpoint,"[40] which would allow for the formation of a state (or rather states, as he interacted with and criticized Peruvian, US, and British state representatives) that could act as a regulator of the violence of capitalist exploitation and imperialist practices.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the advent of modern photography and the concomitant popularization of debates about the ethics of the visual

representation of Indigenous people and exploited workers. These chapters respectively examine accounts of two voyages undertaken after the collapse of the Amazonian rubber industry in the late 1910s and before the Estado Novo regime's (1937–45) new developmentalist agenda for the Amazon in the context of a rise in demand for rubber driven by Word War II: the French couple Claude and Dina Lévi-Strauss's 1935–36 and 1938 ethnographic expeditions through the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso into the Amazon basin, and the Brazilian writer Mário de Andrade's 1927 trip to the Brazilian and Peruvian Amazon. These travelers followed the paths of two monumental infrastructure development projects dating from the first two decades of the twentieth century that aimed to connect Amazonian regions to the coast of Brazil and to modernize the interior of the country: the telegraph line constructed by the Strategic Telegraph Commission of Mato Grosso to Amazonas, and the Madeira-Mamoré Railway, which connected Bolivia's rubber industry to the Amazon basin and hence to the Atlantic Ocean. Both of these projects, publicized early in the twentieth century as heroic engineering achievements, had become obsolete by the 1920s due to the decline of the Amazonian rubber industry and the invention of radiotelegraphy.

Chapter 3 focuses on Claude Lévi-Strauss's use of photographs in his critique of Western imperial expansion and his efforts to represent Indigenous people in central Brazil as the debris of lost primitive forms of life. His book *Tristes tropiques* (1955), one of the most famous accounts of the perils faced by Indigenous populations in central Brazil, is both an epistemological reflection on the impossibility of encountering alterity and a historical critique of the violence of the expansion of mechanized civilization. It is also here that Lévi-Strauss expresses for the first time his mistrust of the photographic medium, denouncing it as both a paradigm of an empiricist form of knowledge and an agent in the destruction of non-Western communities and primitive modes of existence. Ultimately, I argue that the book's narrative of Lévi-Strauss's mis-encounter with alterity serves both as a historical argument about the destruction of primitive ways of life and as the author's experiment with a mode of representation that challenged the phenomenology of the ethnographic encounter. I contend that his cropping, recaptioning, and montaging of photographs, along with other forms of visual representation such as drawings and paintings, were all part of an effort to keep the insurmountable phenomenological dimensions of photography out of the frame. In framing out the traces of historically specific embodied encounters between whites and Indigenous peoples, Lévi-Strauss also

effaced the role of the French and Brazilian states in organizing and financing ethnographic expeditions such as his own. Simultaneously, the photographic selection keeps out of the frame the presence and labor of his wife, Dina Lévi-Strauss, who worked at the Department of Culture of São Paulo, directed by Mário de Andrade. Instead of examining how Lévi-Strauss aimed to mobilize the state to action, this chapter demonstrates how he kept out of sight the historically specific role of the state in the 1930s in exercising or preventing violence in the region.

In chapter 4, I will analyze the archives of Mário de Andrade, who traveled from his native São Paulo to the Brazilian and Peruvian Amazon in 1927, after the decline of the Amazonian rubber industry. If the main figure in Lévi-Strauss's travel account is the remnant of the lost Indigenous subject, Andrade focuses on the shadowy presence of abused and murdered workers: the rubber tappers, fishermen, loggers, and the nearly 6,000 migrant workers who died during the construction of the Madeira-Mamoré Railway and who made the travel of tourists such as Andrade possible. By analyzing the role of looking in Andrade's photographic and written diaries, I argue that, contrary to Lévi-Strauss, he affirms his limited phenomenological, embodied vision as an ethical and aesthetic stance, mediating this vision through the processes of editing, enlarging, and captioning his images. I show, for example, how Andrade often uses captions to refer to the traces of what "was" present, what is not seen in the image, or what was transformed or will be transformed in the future. The subjects he photographed inhabit the temporality of modern capitalism, but they are also beside or beyond that time, as in Andrade's description of malarial faces, in which he sees a particularly disinterested way of looking at the world, one that resists the productive temporality of capitalism. Finally, whereas Lévi-Strauss turns a blind eye to the state, I analyze Andrade's politics of looking in relation to his work in the 1930s as head of the Department of Culture of São Paulo, and his 1942 political critique of the modernist movement and of his own work. In these reflections, Andrade ponders some of the questions explored in this book—particularly, the relationship between being a spectator of injustice and acting politically to end it—and adds a new one: does acting politically mean working through the state toward a project of nation-building, or does it demand a radical attachment to the present, and the participation, with one's own body, in the march of the masses?

This book is not therefore about the effort to make visible what would otherwise be the invisible, subtle, or hidden traces of destruction.

It is about the unsettled and unsettling question of how to see, and what to see in the corpses, scars, debris, and shadows of modernization, as asked by and directed toward urban elites who felt responsible for this process. Through a combination of close readings of these heterogeneous strategies to expose photographic traces of modernity's failure and reconstructions of the historical contexts of their production and circulation, I explore the concrete, and thus often unstable and contingent, formation both of practices of looking and of public realms in early twentieth-century Latin America. Instead of an overarching narrative of the formation of hegemonic structures and ideas, this book offers a heterogeneous picture of the relationships between projects of modernization, photographic technology, and unsettled concepts of modernity and history. In so doing, I hope both to contribute to an untold history of the use of photography in denouncing the crimes of modernization in Latin America, and to add to the emerging scholarship on efforts to decentralize the history of concepts and practices related to photography, violence, and modernity.

CHAPTER 1

Corpse

The Nation in a Decomposing Portrait

On October 5, 1897, General Arthur Oscar, commander of the Campanha de Canudos (1896–97; Canudos Campaign),[1] was notified that the corpse of the prophet Antônio Vieira Mendes Maciel, known as Antônio Conselheiro ("the counselor"), had been found among the ruins of the sanctuary where he had been living under the protection of an armed guard during the conflict with the Brazilian Republic's army. Conselheiro was the religious leader of a community founded in 1893 in the backlands of the province of Bahia—a community which had already successfully resisted three attempts by the armed forces of the regional and federal governments to eliminate it. The autopsy of Conselheiro's corpse established that he had died approximately two weeks before the army's fourth and final assault against Belo Monte, as the village was called by its inhabitants, or Canudos, as it came to be known. General Oscar ordered that the corpse be disinterred and he commissioned the only photographer in the field, Flávio de Barros, to photograph it (figure 1.1). The photograph was attached to the final campaign report approved by Minister of War Carlos Bittencourt. Later, Conselheiro's body was decapitated and his head was taken to the Federal University of Bahia to be studied by the celebrated Dr. Raimundo Nina Rodrigues (1862–1906), the father of criminal anthropology and medical criminology in Brazil.

Figure 1.1. "Cadáver de Antônio Conselheiro encontrado sob as ruínas da Igreja Nova" ("Antônio Conselheiro's corpse was found under the ruins of the New Church"). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 2.32. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

This chapter examines the relationships between photographing and decapitating, between visual culture and scientific and political racialities, and between the production of national territory and history in the peripheries of an expanding capitalist modernity. The chapter begins long before the Canudos Campaign, when a photograph of Conselheiro's face was but a desire, and written and drawn depictions of the prophet circulated in the press and were framed through discourses of deviance and monstrosity. I begin with the writer Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis's sharp *crônicas* (short newspaper essays that revolve on current events or everyday life) on the role of telegraphy, news media, and the transatlantic languages of science and spectacle in the production of Conselheiro's likeness for the consumption of an urban public, in order to examine how the prophet's face and head became the racialized surface where the disputed "truth" of Canudos—and hence the justification for the state's use of violence to suppress the community—were inscribed. Machado's critique of the processes of objectification, fragmentation, and commodification of Conselheiro's body before the final military assault against Belo Monte suggests that the killing and beheading of Conselheiro and of the *conselheiristas* (the counselor's fol-

lowers) were not exceptional. Rather than a deviation from its civilizing mission, the atrocities about to be committed by the state were framed by Machado as a consequence of the violence that lay at the very core of the modern capitalist ideals and practices that the Brazilian elite aspired to. The second part of this chapter retraces the making and circulation of photographic images of the Canudos Campaign, in particular photographs of dead bodies and survivors. The incipient networks of circulation of photographs of current events, and the unstable meanings inscribed in these photographs, shed light on the contingency of the later engulfment of Canudos' photographs and corpses into a hegemonic historical narrative of the constitution of a modern Brazil. This leads me to the next section, in which I examine the role of Euclides da Cunha's book *Os sertões* (1902; *The Backlands*)[2] in shaping this historical narrative through the insertion of Flávio de Barro's images into a text that decries violence through killing and calls for other means of assimilation and modernization. In reading *Os sertões* as a book which announces a reformist agenda for a "humane" integration and modernization of the interior of the country, I argue that da Cunha's ekphrastic narration of the photograph of Antonio Conselheiro allows for history to be inscribed on his body. Instead of engaging with the question of whether da Cunha's words render Conselheiro visible or invisible,[3] I argue that the writer performs a complex assimilation of his image into the text that outlines the formation of a modern tropical, miscegenated, non-European nation.[4] To do so, I examine how da Cunha engaged with contemporaneous debates on the relationship between vision and knowledge, and, more specifically, ethical knowledge, which presupposes a temporal and cultural positionality. In other words, I place this foundational national text in the context of a transatlantic geopolitics of modernity as a programmatic text that calls for a specific path towards progress—the historical fulfillment of a self-determined subject capable of transforming deserts into productive lands—in the context of a peripheral, heterogeneous, and racialized society.

Canudos was originally the name of a farm, and later a small village,[5] in the region where Conselheiro founded his religious community, after he had spent almost two decades making pilgrimages through the semiarid backlands of northeast Brazil, the *sertão*. Strategically located on the banks of the Vaza-Barris River at the intersection of several roads, the community soon attracted thousands of people, with estimates ranging between 6,000 and 25,000 inhabitants. Among them were not only destitute people and the pious, but also peasants, merchants with some

means, teachers, ex-slaves, Indigenous people, and a diverse body of *sertanejos* (inhabitants of the drought-stricken *sertão*) in search of Belo Monte's relatively prosperous communitarian life.[6] The rapid growth of the settlement incited the interest, fear, and anger of local politicians, landowners, the church, and, ultimately, the nascent Brazilian republican government, which viewed military expeditions as an opportunity to unite the country and intervene in the rural interior.[7]

Despite becoming a foundational event in accounts of Brazilian history, the Brazilian state's violent assault against Belo Monte was not odd in the context of the late nineteenth-century Americas. On the contrary, the use of armed force by the state was integral to the process of incorporating peripheries such as the northeastern *sertão* into national territories and global capitalist economies.[8] The remarkable fact that Belo Monte resisted the first three attempts by local and then national authorities to suppress the community was, in this context, instrumentalized by different political agents and the media, who profited from turning Canudos into a national public event. The Canudos Campaign, the fourth and last military expedition to Belo Monte, was an impressive display of power that marshaled resources from the entire Brazilian army and garnered unprecedented press coverage.[9] In this context Antônio Conselheiro became, in Machado de Assis's ironic description, "a celebrity."

As the Canudos conflict developed over the course of consecutive (and unsuccessful) military expeditions against the settlement, the prophet who led thousands of people to resist the force of the state was largely represented in the press as a frightening remnant of the past, a dangerous fanatic surrounded by bandits and ignorant primitive souls. These representations of Conselheiro drew largely from transatlantic fin-de-siècle depictions of otherness and deviance—such as crime reports, colonial exhibitions, and the Gothic taste for monstrosity—and simultaneously on the popularization, in Brazil, of social Darwinism and scientific racism. In the last days of the Canudos Campaign, Dr. Raimundo Nina Rodrigues wrote an article in which he linked racial miscegenation to mental degeneration, mysticism, and criminal behavior to explain what he called the "madness epidemic of Canudos."[10] Interestingly, Nina Rodrigues's article includes a footnote about the "news that the telegraph has just brought" reporting that Antonio Conselheiro's corpse had been found in his sanctuary, which revealed that the prophet remained loyal to his post until his death, even though he could easily have retreated to a safer place. Rodrigues interpreted this news as proof of his theory,

and as the "final confirmation of Conselheiro's madness, in thoroughly performing the role of Blessed Jesus the Counselor, which the transformation of personality of his chronic delusion imposed on him" (Nina Rodrigues, "Madness Epidemic of Canudos," 214–15).

While Conselheiro's madness, explained as a result of racial miscegenation, was turned into the key that explained both his dangerousness and tenacity, the discovery of his dead body was crucial for the retroactive justification of the Canudos Campaign. Conselheiro's dead body was found on October 5, and the already ruinous settlement of Canudos was torched on October 6, 1897. The details of every step taken in the discovery and preservation of the corpse were reported, with some variations, in all the major newspapers as follows: General Arthur Oscar ordered that the corpse, which had been buried by the prophet's followers, was to be exhumed, carefully cleaned, and exhibited to the soldiers in the square. "Once its identity was undeniably proved,"[11] as the newspaper *Gutemberg* stated in a report dated October 24, 1897, Flávio de Barros, the "expeditionary photographer" at Canudos, photographed the infamous leader of the rebellion. On the orders of chief battle surgeon Major Miranda Curió, the head of the corpse was cut off, displayed by soldiers during their homecoming victory parade, and finally given to Dr. Raimundo Nina Rodrigues to be examined for congenital abnormalities, so that, as the newspaper *Correio de Noticias* proclaimed on October 23, 1897, "science may clarify the causes of the mental aberration that has caused so much harm to Bahia and to the entire country."

In February 1898, an advertisement in *A Gazeta de Noticias* announced the first public exhibition of Flávio de Barros's photographs of the Canudos Campaign. The advertisement highlighted the exhibition's main attraction: the "faithful portrait of the fanatic Conselheiro." Another advertisement, published in the *Diário do Espírito Santo*, guaranteed that this was the only "certified" portrait of the prophet. The photograph (figure 1.1) shows Conselheiro's corpse lying on a mat made of reeds, surrounded by soldiers. He wears his prophet's robe and sandals, and sports a long beard and a tangled mane of hair that reinforce previous depictions of him in newspaper articles and caricatures. The body is isolated and carefully arranged: the hands are crossed over the chest, following the conventions of funerary portraiture, and the head is turned towards the camera, in order to allow for a "faithful" reproduction of the prophet's features. These newspaper announcements are the only evidence that Conselheiro's photographic image was circu-

lated outside the military realm before 1902, when it is mentioned in the final pages of da Cunha's *Os sertões*, framed by a narrative that both explains and denounces the disproportionate violence employed by the state against Canudos.

Even though similar resistance communities in Brazil and abroad—notably, in the United States, Argentina, and Mexico—clashed with nineteenth-century states in expansion, the Canudos massacre became one of the most notorious events in the official historical narrative of Brazil, and even of Latin America, partly because of the enduring success of Euclides da Cunha's *Os sertões*. The book became a bestseller at a time when at least 65 percent of the Brazilian population over 15 years of age was illiterate,[12] and remains one of the best-known narratives about the nation even today. In the final pages of the book, da Cunha, an engineer educated in military school who traveled to Canudos as a news correspondent for the newspaper *Estado de São Paulo*, turns Conselheiro's photographic portrait into the evidence of a mistake, an error of judgment by the government, the press, and the urban citizens. In describing the processes involved in beheading Antônio Conselheiro and in making the photograph, da Cunha characterizes these as the ultimate gesture of an irrational military campaign. Most importantly, he describes the image, which is not printed in the book, as something quite different from the "faithful portrait" advertised in *A Gazeta de Noticias*. On the one hand, da Cunha observes that in Conselheiro's features the military men wished to confirm the identity of the defeated enemy and to find "the evidence of crime and madness." On the other, he describes Conselheiro's corpse as being "in a condition of advanced decomposition [that] would not have been recognized by those who had been closest to him in life" (*Backlands*, 464). Hence, it is as both a portrait and a ruin, the making of a face and a defacement, that Antônio Conselheiro's photograph is described in the last pages of *Os sertões*, which was published five years after the end of the conflict.

Os sertões, which claims to address itself to "the eyes of future historians" (*Backlands*, 1), strives to account for the origins, meanings, and the outcome of the conflict. Influenced by Hippolyte Taine's environmental determinism, the book is divided into three parts: "A terra" ("The Land"), "O homem" ("Man"), and "A luta" ("The Battle"). While the first part is dedicated to providing a Darwinian-inflected analysis of the dry northeastern landscape and its *mestiço* people, and the second part examines the messianic community that was decimated and the social and psychological conditions that supposedly gave birth to the

community, the final part of the book aims to rewrite the official narrative of the destruction of Canudos, denouncing it as a barbarous crime. Although other contemporary writers also suggested that the *conselheiristas* were victims of the disproportionate violence of the state, da Cunha's version was the one that would become paradigmatic.[13] In the book, the journalist/engineer argues that the victory of the republican army over the rebels was accomplished at the expense of the rational ideals on which the republic was founded: in the ruins of the "atavist" community the nation could find proof of its own barbarism. Presenting the bodies and corpses of *sertanejos* as evidence of "all the cracks and fissures of our evolution as a society" (*Backlands*, 281), da Cunha demands that the public commit itself to the construction of a modern, civilized, and unified nation. In doing so, he not only represents the needs of the *sertão* and the *sertanejos*, but brings to the fore the obstacles that Brazilian political and scientific elites faced in seeking to establish dominion over the country's land, natural resources, and workforce. The public addressed by da Cunha was even narrower than the urban consumers of Conselheiro's images described by Machado de Assis: Os sertões addressed an urban, literate political elite that should learn from the past and act through the means of science, engineering, and politics to build a national body capable of transforming tropical, "inhospitable" environments into productive zones.

Considering that for decades *Os sertões* was praised for performing what was called an inversion of the roles of criminal and victim by denouncing a military campaign as a crime, it should be underscored that this is not what I am suggesting here. The reinscription of the photograph of Antônio Conselheiro's corpse at the end of *Os sertões* is not only an example of how a photograph intended to "certify," or construct, the face of an enemy of modernity could be reframed to represent the subject as a victim of violence. On the contrary, by reading *Os sertões* as an effort to reframe a photograph that ultimately remains unseen, since it is not printed in the book, I examine the formal strategies that da Cunha uses—in both his narrative and in captioning and placing photographs in *Os sertões*—to write over Conselheiro's body in order to direct readers' gaze to the physical obstacles, including Brazil's racial composition and wild nature, that da Cunha posits as simultaneously a threat to and a justification for the republic's expansionist and modernizing impulse.

It is noteworthy that Conselheiro is described at the end of *Os sertões* as a decomposing body, a body no longer readable by the psychiatric

gaze, but rather as disappearing back into a land that needed to be studied and transformed. Ultimately, the process of modernization defended by Euclides da Cunha depended on knowledge and control of the land. In an article published in the newspaper *O Paiz* on May 14, 1904, titled "Olhemos para a nossa terra" ("Let Us Look at the Land"),[14] da Cunha promotes a "scientific exploration of the land" that would allow for the transformation of the region's climate and the expansion of civilization. If the modern state was to make the backlands of Brazil productive, a marginal figure like Conselheiro could not be allowed to so easily control its land and population.

In order to grasp how the photograph of Antônio Conselheiro's corpse was reframed by da Cunha in the aftermath of the rebellion, it is crucial to understand that *Os sertões* is not only, as many scholars have pointed out, the exegesis of a theoretical apparatus constructed from the geological, climatic, sociological, and racial theories of the time and recounted through literary imagery and metaphor.[15] It is also a montage of images and texts that provides a form of visual testimony that retains an indexical claim on Canudos. As the product of da Cunha's effort to create the definitive document on Canudos for the "gaze of future historians," the book quotes from hundreds of documents, including references about the *sertão* from his field notes, letters written by soldiers and priests, Antônio Conselheiro's manuscripts, and popular poetry. *Os sertões* was also the first publication to print three photographs of the conflict taken by Flávio de Barros in Canudos. There has never been a study of the way in which da Cunha re-captioned these photographs or how they are framed in *Os sertões*'s narrative of the conflict. What kinds of relationships between images and words are involved in da Cunha's re-captioning and ekphrasis in his appropriation of Flávio de Barros's images? What do they reveal about his attempt to control the public's reading of these traces of violence? How are these images captured (or not) in the knowledge apparatus and the historical narrative used in *Os sertões*?

THE PRODUCTION OF A FACE THROUGH SCIENCE AND SPECTACLE

Let's take another look at Flávio de Barros's photograph of Conselheiro's corpse (figure 1.1). Its careful arrangement shows us that this is not just any corpse lying on a battlefield, but one that we should rec-

ognize. Conselheiro died around September 22 of an unknown cause. Some historians suggest that he died of dysentery; others believe he died from a wound caused by a grenade explosion. His body was buried by his followers, wrapped in a sheet. The conflict officially ended on October 5. The corpse was then found by the army and exhumed, brought into the light, and made visible.[16] According to a report by the first column's commander, the body was taken to the square so that it could be seen. In this open space, it was photographed "so that we would have proof that it was indeed this person."[17] The sun of the *sertão* floods the image. It must not have been easy to isolate the body, to exclude the crowd of soldiers eager to see for the first time the infamous, now defeated, Antônio Conselheiro. These spectators nevertheless make their way into the upper margin of the photograph: we see their feet and their shadows. In both isolating Conselheiro's corpse and failing to do so, Barros's image becomes more than a portrait of the dead prophet—it inscribes the desire to see Conselheiro into the relationship between the transformation of the prophet into a corpse and an image.

A few months before Barros went to Canudos in January 1897, the writer Machado de Assis wrote one of his weekly *crônicas* in *A Gazeta de Noticias*[18] in which he mocked the public's desire to see Conselheiro's face, and suggested that a "patient and clever reporter, partially photographer, partially illustrator," should go to Canudos "to bring back the features of the Conselheiro . . . and thus collect the truth about the sect."[19] Taking as a starting point Machado de Assis's observations of the media spectacle in Canudos, I would like to explore the production of Conselheiro's image for the consumption of the public. By this time, Machado de Assis had already published some of his most important novels, in which he derided the popularization in Brazil of strands of social thought inspired by Comte's and Spencer's positivism, social Darwinism, anthropological criminology, and psychiatry. The portrait—or rather the face—was connected to both the scientific and popular appropriations of these fields of knowledge and occupied an important place as the visual threshold between surface and depth, between physical traits and character, as well as between the individual and the social "type."

Much of the research in nineteenth-century physiognomy consisted in searching for the visual markers of specific human types: the lunatic, the primitive, the criminal. While physiognomy and phrenology long predated the invention of photography, the new medium revitalized both fields, offering what appeared to be a rigorous scientific basis that

would dispense with the occultist connotations of each. As Tom Gunning notes, both the study of the face and the development of photography were driven by a desire to see, and to know, a living face in its smallest and most fleeting expressions.[20] Disciplinary institutions such as prisons and hospitals soon built their own photographic studios and protocols, hoping to apply photographic imaging to the identification and classification of the facial markers of individual or collective madness and degeneration. One of the hypotheses used at the time to explain the formation of the community led by Antônio Conselheiro—an idea defended by, among other people, the examining doctor Nina Rodrigues—connected race and phenotype to religious atavism and to innate tendencies to commit crimes.[21] Thus, it is not hard to surmise that a photograph of Conselheiro was expected to reveal, in Machado de Assis's words, some kind of "truth about the sect." But Machado's essay objects to the transformation of a face into a bearer of signs to be decoded by the lens of science, and instead does something rather unexpected: it uses Canudos to defend the right to mystery and imagination.

Although conflicting stories about the "canudenses" appeared in the press,[22] Conselheiro was largely portrayed in the news as the "fanatic" leader of a sect of poor, ragged souls. Initially, Conselheiro and his followers were not exceptional. Newspapers mentioned the appearance of what writers deemed to be signs of persistent Brazilian religious fanaticism and backwardness. About a religious procession in downtown Rio, for example, Olavo Bilac wrote: "It gave me the impression of a monstrous anachronism. . . . The savage times were returning, as a spirit from another world coming to disturb and bring shame to civilization."[23] The appearance in newsprint of pilgrims and religious preachers in rural areas of the country was common, as Machado de Assis himself points out in one of his articles. And unlike urban manifestations of "savagery," to use Bilac's word, the religious pilgrims in the *sertão* posed the larger problem of how to control, modernize, and integrate the "unknown" and "inhospitable" backlands into a nation that was still being invented.[24]

When Conselheiro settled in the backlands of Bahia and founded a fully functional community that later became one of the largest towns in the province,[25] he became more than just one of these pilgrims who made the news and quickly disappeared like ghostly appearances from the past. After the foundation of the village and its subsequent growth, Conselheiro entered the crosshairs of local economic powers. Landowners complained that workers were leaving their farms to follow the

prophet, and that the community posed a danger to private property in the region.[26] Canudos might have remained a problem for local civil authorities only—and would not have received national and international attention—if the community had not successfully resisted for an entire year the powers trying to exterminate it. The *conselheiristas* defended their right to occupy the locality, and in this resistance they became central to the "conversion of the military campaign into a revolutionary crusade for the consolidation of the regime."[27]

It was after the defeat of the second military expedition to Belo Monte, organized by the state of Bahia, that the community came under the radar of the federal government. "Canudos" was transformed into a national public enemy and framed as a movement for the return of the monarchy. National media contributed to the hysteria, with a burst of sensational articles, caricatures, essays, and even poems depicting Conselheiro as the leader of a sect of faithful and resilient fanatics. Machado de Assis wrote his essay suggesting that a photographer should go to Canudos to "collect the truth about the sect" as a response to this media frenzy, but when photographers or reporters had yet to go to Canudos, news arrived through telegrams sent by soldiers, or by reporters writing, as Machado points out, from Salvador, the capital of Bahia state ("A Semana," January 31, 1897). Like the news articles, the drawn portraits of Conselheiro reproduced in the press were based on a mix of oral testimony, rumors, and collective imagination, and frequently equated him with religious and premodern figures (figure 1.2). In late nineteenth-century Brazil the literate public was very limited, and newspapers and magazines sought to expand their audience by including visual representations in articles and columns.

Machado de Assis suggested that at the same time as the multitude of texts and images about Conselheiro seemed to increase the mystery surrounding him, the media's obsession with him was a response to the desire to control his image and use it in the name of progress. Machado protested the persecution of Conselheiro, a man "who founded a sect of which no one knows the name or the doctrine." While Conselheiro's words remained unknown,[28] the prophet's face became a surface wherein the truth of the sect, and thus the fate of the Brazilian Republic's crusade, was inscribed. When Machado (ironically) exhorted photographers "to bring back the features of the Conselheiro" he isn't referring to just any kind of representation, but to the production of a "resemblance through contact"[29] in the double sense of contact as both encounter and inscription, containing both the likeness of the por-

Figure 1.2. *Revista Illustrada*, Rio de Janeiro, no. 727, 1897, 4–5. Reproduced from Biblioteca Digital, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Brazil.

trait and the technical efficacy of the index (Peirce), or the trace, which would reveal the true nature of Canudos. Machado de Assis does not ask the photographer to record but to "collect" and "bring back" the features of the prophet. When the *New York Times* reported on October 20, 1862, that Mathew Brady through his photographs had brought back bodies from the American Civil War "and laid them in our dooryards and along the streets," it stressed this double fascination with (and horror at) photography as semblance and vestige: "It seems somewhat singular that the same sun that looked down on the faces of the slain, blistering them, blotting out from the bodies all semblance to humanity, and hastening corruption, should have thus caught their features upon canvas, and given them perpetuity for ever."

Reinforcing this association between the indexical nature of photography and discourses of truth, Machado de Assis adds that collecting Conselheiro's traits would be a remarkable achievement almost identical to the "removal of the Bendegó," referring to the expedition that brought the large meteorite named Bendegó from the backlands of Bahia to the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro. This analogy with the meteorite is auspicious: the Bendegó had been found a century before near Monte Santo, the town that would become the headquarters of the army during the Canudos Campaign. In 1888, the year before the fall of the Empire of Brazil, the emperor Dom Pedro II ordered the

meteorite's transportation to Rio de Janeiro. The removal of Bendegó from Bahia to the capital of the empire had previously been narrated by Machado in an 1888 *crônica* that commented on the incongruous adoption of a federalist regime in a centralized monarchy. This polemic is not irrelevant to the political context of the republic's military intervention in Canudos, which was seen by Machado as evidence of the new republic's old authoritarianism. Besides the subtle critique of the republican regime, Machado's mention of the Bendegó also satirizes the representation of Conselheiro as a remnant of the past, and an object for the public and scientific gaze, whose place is in a museum.

At the outset of the third military expedition, it received unprecedented press coverage as new telegraph lines were extended to the vicinity of Canudos. The campaign was led by the infamous Colonel Moreira César, known as the "corta cabeças" (cutter-of-necks) after his role in the violent suppression of the Federalist Revolt in Santa Catarina. Moreira César's epithet made the prospect of collecting Conselheiro's traits even more literal and sinister. One cannot avoid referencing here the long-studied relationship between photography and corpses,[30] for if Conselheiro's traits were not to be "collected" through photographic technology, they would be through murder and decapitation.

On February 14, 1897, during the preparations for Moreira César's military expedition, Machado de Assis wrote another *crônica* reacting to the unprecedented attention that Canudos had attracted. In this essay, the last one Machado wrote for the series published in his weekly column "A Semana" in the *Gazeta de Notícias*, the question of truth fades away as he focuses on the inscription of Antônio Conselheiro in a global language of reproduction, circulation, and consumerism: "I learned yesterday what celebrity is. I was buying newspapers . . . when I saw a common woman approach the vendor and say in a dimmed voice: 'Give me a paper that brings the portrait of the man who fights out there.'" Although the woman did not remember his name, the man could be none other than Antônio Conselheiro, about whom many stories "with a lot of mysterious details, much aura, and myth" had been circulating. The woman, who "probably could not read," had heard that some periodical had published a portrait of the "Messiah from the *sertão*" and decided to buy it. Significantly, Machado refers, in the same February 1897 essay, to both the event's actuality and the nation's future memory of the "extinct sect": "The name of Antônio Conselheiro will end up entering in the memory of this anonymous woman and it won't ever leave. . . . One day she'll tell the story to her daughter and then later to her granddaughter." Machado also predicts that the story

will later be inscribed in a future book.[31] Maybe in a hundred years, Machado continues, there might be a celebration of Conselheiro's *cabeleira* (mane) just "as now, according to the *Jornal do Commercio*, the centenary of the invention of the top hat is being celebrated in London."

In the same nineteenth century that had witnessed the consolidation of global capitalism, "Canudos"—like the *chapéu alto* (top hat), which, as Machado reminds us, could also have been called a *canudo* (which means, literally, a long cylinder, such as a straw or pipe)—was being invented and consumed by a fin-de-siècle urban public that was avid for novelties.[32] In fact, Conselheiro had become more than a subject of newspaper articles: he figured in popular poetry, advertisements for all kinds of goods, and even in carnival costumes.[33] The top hat, a sign of aristocratic distinction, and Conselheiro's "mane" of long tousled hair, which functioned as a symbol of primitivist religiosity, were appropriated and consumed by the growing urban masses.[34] In the context of turn-of-the-century visual culture, Machado's comparison between the mane and the top hat was also an astute reminder of the relationship between the bourgeois portrait and the mug shot, which, as Alan Sekula has argued, are both informed by conceptions of individuality grounded in private property rights.[35]

More importantly, Machado seems to have realized that at the same moment when Conselheiro was being born as an image for the consumption of the urban public, he was sentenced to die. In this sense, Machado's text is simultaneously comical and somber. It is about the making of a celebrity and of a corpse. The comical effect is mainly a result of the decontextualization of Conselheiro, specifically of Conselheiro's mane, and its recontextualization in the sphere of fashion. Not only is Conselheiro's image detached from his words and his community, but his body itself is fragmented. The comical image of Conselheiro's *cabeleira* takes on a somber dimension at the end of Machado's article, when he reminds the reader that whether one chooses a *chapéu alto* (high culture) or a *baixo* (low culture), what is important is to safeguard one's head. Machado's warning about losing one's head probably alludes to Colonel Moreira César's reputation as a "cutter-of-necks." The desire to find in Conselheiro's face a true representation of his traits, and by extension the truth of Canudos; the reproduction and circulation of Conselheiro's mane, or its transformation into a commodity; and the promise of acquiring Conselheiro's cut-off head are astutely entangled in Machado's analysis of the transformation of Canudos into a historic and media event.

No one could have expected that the *conselheiristas* would defeat Moreira César's expedition. This outcome gave birth to a series of even more spectacular and sensationalist representations, stemming principally from incredulity that a hinterlands prophet and his followers could defeat a national military campaign. After this defeat of the third expedition, representations of Conselheiro and his followers as poor, sickly fanatics gave way to an increasing tendency to represent Conselheiro as a monstrous character. Theories about Canudos being a monarchist conspiracy also gained credence. This was the case in Euclides da Cunha's first article on the conflict, titled "A nossa Vendéia." The metaphor of the Vendée—which da Cunha would abandon in *Os sertões*, where he questions the hypothesis that the *canudenses*, as atavist primitives, had any clear political project—incorporated Canudos into the history of the French Revolution, as it was being relived through the imagination of the Brazilian republicans of the time. Some rumors went so far as to declare that Canudos was financed by foreign governments interested in destabilizing Brazil's new regime. As a March 10, 1897, editorial from the newspaper *A Republica* suggests, however, Conselheiro was mainly seen as a "brutish and taciturn *jagunço* [outlaw], cloaked in sordid rags, sandals on his feet, his locks long and filthy, disoriented by religious megalomania" and hence no more than "a vile instrument" of external political actors.

Besides ending in defeat for the republicans, the failure of the third expedition posed a problem for the political interests supporting the military and the reputation of the recently modernized army. The response was the organization of a spectacular fourth expedition, a far greater display of military power. And for the first time, journalists and photographers were sent to the front, although their telegrams were fiercely inspected and censored by the army.

One of these journalists was a correspondent for *O Estado de São Paulo*, Euclides da Cunha, who revealed himself an ardent republican, and remained faithful to the cause of the republican army until he fell ill on October 3 and left the field. In contrast, other reporters, such as Favila Nunes and Manuel Benício, although restricted by censorship, managed to circulate news about mismanagement and cruelties on both sides of the conflict. One of their central accusations was that the army had adopted the practice of murder through the beheading of *conselheiristas* captured during combat.

One widely reported beheading was that of Conselheiro himself, even though, since he was already dead, his decapitation was less an object

of indignation than one of curiosity. By cutting off Conselheiro's head, the army aimed to bring to the urban (scientific and popular) gaze those "features" that Machado de Assis's anonymous character wanted to see. This double construction of Conselheiro's face as both commodity and scientific object corresponded to the double destiny of his head: it was photographed to later be exhibited for urban publics and taken for study to the Federal University of Bahia. When Machado de Assis suggested that photographing Conselheiro would be an accomplishment similar to the removal of the Bendegó meteorite from the *sertão* to the Museu Nacional, he seems to have predicted what was about to come to pass. Despite the disappointing findings of the medical evaluation carried out by Dr. Nina Rodrigues, Conselheiro's skull was preserved as a relic at the Medical School of Bahia.

Machado de Assis's *crônicas*, written before this dual gesture of the Brazilian army—the photographing and beheading of Antônio Conselheiro—were premonitory in the way they commented on the symbolic fragmentation and objectification of Conselheiro's body in the context of two related functions of what he called "industrial bourgeois society": the making of a deviant face through scientific discourses and practices, such as criminal anthropology, psychiatry, and medical criminology, and the making of a celebrity for the consumption of the urban public. Machado's essays portray techno-scientific modernity and consumer society as entangled forms of mystification that revealed the contradictions inherent in the accusation that Antônio Conselheiro was a mystical fanatic. By doing so, Machado challenges the binary logic that sustains the production of otherness.[36] This gesture, so characteristic of Machado, appears in a more explicit form in a *crônica* written in 1896, in which he questions why a preacher should be criminalized for preaching. Machado asks the readers if freedom of speech is only valid for journalists and politicians and how anyone could be sure that what the prophet says is false. After all, he adds, the "latest discoveries are astonishing: bones and fetuses can be photographed. Anything is possible in this world and at the end of this great century" ("A Semana," September 13, 1896).

Ultimately, Machado invites the reader to ask what, after all, the difference is between a journalist and a preacher, a politician and a prophet, between science and myth, and thus to question the divide between the modern and the primitive that was so important in the construction of Antônio Conselheiro as an enemy of the modernizing project of the new republic and in the condemnation of his community. Finally, Machado's

critique of the injustice being committed against Canudos—written before the final massacre of the *conselheiristas*—is an interesting point of departure from which to analyze the mainstream critique of Canudos in the aftermath of the war and particularly its canonization through *Os sertões*. For Machado, it was not excessive violence, unlawful beheadings, and the barbarous exhibition of decapitated heads that should be denounced, but enlightened scientific discourses themselves. Violence is at modernity's core: in the scientific discourses and practices that racialize bodies, in the economic capitalism that alienates and fragments them, and in a repressive state apparatus that allows marginalized bodies to be contained and controlled. If violence is at modernity's core, there is no call for reform or modernization in Machado's critique.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF CANUDOS: CORPSES AND SURVIVORS

Despite the increasing interest in Canudos recounted by Machado de Assis, there were only two photographers present on the site, who arrived with the very last military expedition. This may appear scanty if we compare Canudos to, for example, the recording of the Wounded Knee massacre in the United States in 1890, which attracted at least five photographers and produced a much larger number of images. The role of the North American media in spreading fear that a bloody Sioux rebellion would soon occur at the Pine Ridge Indian reservation and the consequent violent repression of the Ghost Dance cult, a messianic resistance movement among them, was no less central than the role of the Brazilian media in the Canudos massacre. In the United States, however, the halftone process, which allowed images to be printed at the same time as type, had contributed to the regular use of photographs in magazines starting in the 1880s. The press in Brazil did not regularly use photographs in the same way until the very end of the nineteenth century.[37]

In addition, the difficulty and expense of covering the events in the remote backlands of the Brazilian Northeast made the enterprise economically risky for independent photographers. There is evidence that the two photographers who went to Canudos were sponsored by the army. In addition to Flávio de Barros, Canudos was photographed by Juan Gutierrez,[38] a military man who owned a photographic studio in Rio de Janeiro called the Brazilian Photographic Company. Gutierrez, who had previously documented the Revolta Armada in Rio de Janeiro (1893–94), the first armed conflict in Brazilian territory to be

photographed, died on the Canudos battlefield on June 28, two months before Flávio de Barros arrived.[39] In early 1898, newspapers reported that the headquarters of the Brazilian Photographic Company had been destroyed by a fire. It is likely that almost all of Gutierrez's photographs of Canudos were destroyed in the incident. According to evidence from Euclides da Cunha's field notes and from the newspapers, the writer, who was not a professional photographer, had also taken a camera to the field. Da Cunha's photographs, however, were never found. Barros's photographs, therefore, are the only ones we have today.

As opposed to Gutierrez, who had a well-known studio in Rio de Janeiro and was already recognized for his photographs of the Revolta Armada, little is known about Flávio de Barros. All historians can say about the photographer is that he worked in the capital of Bahia, having used at least two addresses in that city.[40] Moreover, Barros was not, like Juan Gutierrez, a military man, but was appointed "fotógrafo expedicionário" (expeditionary photographer) by the military command, arriving in Canudos just days before the final attack on October 1, 1897, together with a new contingent of soldiers and the Brazilian minister of war. In the first days of September 1897, an article in the newspaper *A Notícia* announced that among the new weaponry, such as the "Canet"—a type of cannon developed by the French engineer Gustave Canet, which was often mentioned in news reports at the time—and the "illustrious soldiers" arriving at Monte Santo, the army's base of operations, there was also a photographer who had traveled there with the "aim of acquiring portraits of all members of all the battalions as well as multiple views of the road that leads to Canudos."[41] If, as Natalia Brizuela suggests, the presence of photographic technology in the field, together with cannons and soldiers, was announced as a means to attest to the power and modernity of the state, photography was also used to represent this power, as we can see in the photograph "Divisão Canet" ("Canet Division," figure 1.15).[42]

Contrary to other examples of photographs of battlefields in the nineteenth century, however, Barros's photographs were not exhibited or circulated during the conflict, both because the Brazilian illustrated press had not adopted photographic printing yet, and because Barros's use of dry plates[43] made it difficult to process the photographs on-site. In comparison with the wet-collodion process, dry plates could be prepared in advance, making it easier to transport and handle the negatives, and they also needed a considerably reduced exposure time, thus allowing the capture of somewhat moving scenes. In favorable conditions, the exposure time for a large plate could be less than one second. Having

a mobile laboratory to develop the images in the field would, however, require carrying a large amount of materials and also dealing with the extreme variations of temperature in the *sertão*.[44] So, in addition to his late arrival on the field, Barros only developed and selected prints upon his return to Salvador, the capital of Bahia, after the end of the conflict. The images available today are divided into two albums, one containing 15 photos and the other containing 54 of them.[45]

Given the technical aspects of nineteenth-century photography, which still demanded relatively long exposures, as well as the aesthetic conventions of the time—related not so much to the idea of the instantaneous and to the interruption of movement, as to the construction of a scene—and Barros's late arrival on the field, most of his photographs are posed portraits, landscapes, and ruins. In order to build his photographic series as an eyewitness account of an ongoing war, Barros resorted to a strategy that had been common since the first photographic representations of battlefields:[46] he used both explanatory captions to build a narrative and the conscious placing of people and objects in front of the camera. The photograph titled "Ataque e incêndio em Canudos" ("Attack and fire in Canudos," figure 1.3), for example, by framing the

Figure 1.3. "Ataque e incêndio em Canudos" ("Attack and fire in Canudos"). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 01.03. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

artillery on the left and the settlement in flames on the right, suggests an attack. Another "action" simulated for the camera was the enactment of the arrest of *jagunços* (figure 1.4). The term *jagunço*, which Barros uses in the title of his photo, referred to an armed *sertanejo*, and sometimes signified a bandit from the *sertões*, and, during the Canudos Campaign, a combatant from Belo Monte. Although Barros uses this term to refer to the few *conselheiristas* who appear in some of his photos, the subjects performing for the camera in this photograph are probably all soldiers.

Barros's images reenacting war scenes were, however, an exception. The construction of a visual memory of the conflict consisted in great part of depictions of the military, and soldiers, officers, and their families were the potential consumers of these shots. The majority of Barros's photographs portray routine military maneuvers or are group portraits of the different battalions (which make up by far the largest number of prints) and portraits of individual officers, all in accordance with the conventional representation of war as a collective and hierarchical enterprise. Adherence to these conventions generated an archive of horizontally framed, straight-on shots, taken at middle to long distances. In the portraits of battalions and routine military scenes, the camera is

Figure 1.4. "Prisão de jagunços pela cavalaria" ("Cavalry soldiers arrest jagunços"). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 01.10. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

commonly placed at eye level. In a few instances when the photographer sought to portray soldiers in the context of a particular site, such as the field hospital or prison, the camera is positioned at the top of an elevation and angled downward. One of Barros's group portraits that did not include prominent officers or individually identified figures is included in *Os sertões* (figure 1.16). Later, I will examine the reappropriation of these photographs in the context of da Cunha's attempt to denounce the flaws of the republic's assault on Canudos. For now, it is important to note that Flávio de Barros's images, on the contrary, intended to portray the military assault as a successful enterprise.

Death, for example, is largely erased from Barros's photographic representation of Canudos, especially the death of military men, which is only alluded to once, in "Sepultura do Capitão Aguiar" ("Captain Aguiar's grave"), a photograph showing the burial of a captain receiving due ceremony and military honors (figure 1.5). The deceased captain

Figure 1.5. "Sepultura do Capitão Aguiar" ("Captain Aguiar's grave"). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 02.21. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

Antônio Manuel Aguiar e Silva was a personal friend and assistant to General Carlos Eugênio de Andrade Guimarães (the commander of the second military column), as well as the brother of the commander-in-chief Arthur Oscar, and was the most photographed officer in Canudos. It is likely that Flávio de Barros was working under the auspices of Andrade Guimarães, who commissioned the photographer to record the burial of Captain Aguiar. While this is the only photograph of the death of a military man in Barros's albums, we know that approximately 5,000 soldiers died during the entire conflict between the state forces and the *conselheiristas*.

Barros's erasure of military corpses was part of a larger attempt to legitimate the military intervention and to produce a positive image of the army. This need for legitimation can be better understood if we remember that the military was one of two main forces—the other being São Paulo landowners—that had pushed for the creation of a new republic. In the 1890s, however, these two forces were competing for power within the new regime. The army had had only a marginal role during the imperial period, but it gained some importance and underwent a series of modernizing reforms after its triumph in the War of the Triple Alliance (1864–70). Based on the French and German models, the Brazilian army undertook a crusade to promote national unity, and many of its new recruits believed that they had a role in overthrowing the monarchy and building a modern republic. The military was in power during the first years of the Brazilian Republic (although during the Canudos Campaign the president, Prudente de Morais, was a civilian).

By the time Barros arrived in Canudos, despite the military's control of telegraph lines, the press was rife with reports about the mismanagement of supplies, the soldiers' lack of discipline, the inefficiency of the commanders, and the excessive and systematic brutality of the army.[47] From historian Ana Maria Mauad's pioneering analysis of Barros's albums, which follows a semiological methodology, to Cícero Antônio F. de Almeida's historical overview of Barros's work, to, more recently, Jens Andermann's reading of his photographs in the context of the consolidation of Latin American states and their fields of visibility, scholars agree that Flávio de Barros's photographic choices reflect to some extent the mission he was tasked with, namely that of attesting to the modernity and legality of the army's actions in the context of a growing critique of its brutality.[48] Barros's photograph showing soldiers having a plentiful meal (figure 1.6), for example, has been read as a counter-image to the reports about the extreme scarcity of food in the campaign:

Figure 1.6. "Bóia na bateria do perigo" ("Meal at the 'hazard artillery'"). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 02.29. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

"I have seen battalion commanders humbly request a handful of manioc flour," wrote the reporter Manuel Benício in a telegram published in the *Jornal do Commercio* on August 8, 1897. "I do not exaggerate. When this is over, thousands will attest everything that I have been describing here." Because of his critical reports, Benício was later obliged to leave the battlefield. Other examples of Barros's photos used to support the interpretation that he tried to validate the army are those images erasing the extreme and systematic violence of the army, which included the murder of captured *conselheiristas*. In the photograph "Corpo sanitário e uma jagunça ferida" ("Medical staff and injured female jagunça"), for example, the army appears to be providing medical treatment to wounded enemies (figure 1.7), while in "Um jagunço preso" ("Jagunço prisoner") a *jagunço*, as Barros captions him, is presented to the camera (figure 1.8). Both images contradict reports at the time which suggested that prisoners were usually executed when captured alive. Jens Andermann's insightful analysis of these two images emphasizes the fact that Barros's photos organize a "space of legality," while excessive violence and death—the suspension of law—are out of the frame.[49] Interestingly,

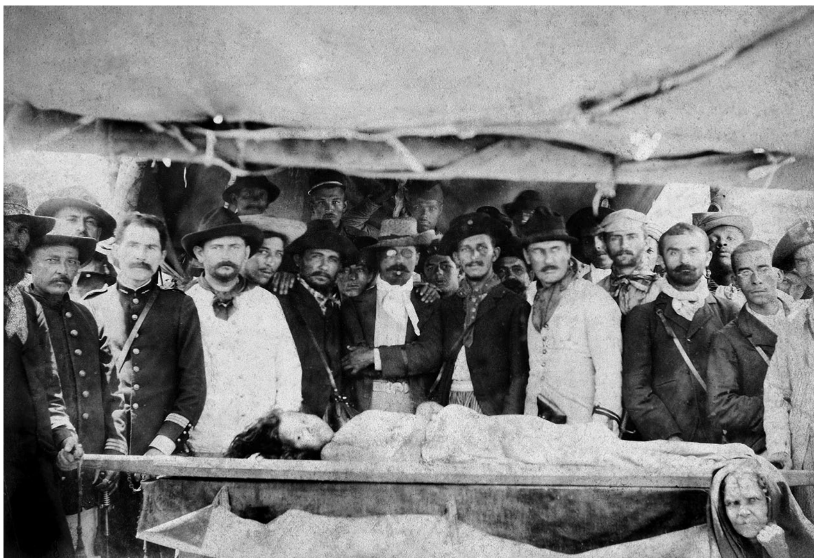


Figure 1.7. "Corpo sanitário e uma jagunça ferida" ("Medical staff and injured female jagunça"). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 02.47. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

it is through Euclides da Cunha's writing that Andermann reads this externality that is inseparable from the frame. *Os sertões* would be the text that writes over this photograph by describing a *jagunço* prisoner and his subsequent execution. Andermann builds on Berthold Zilly's suggestion that da Cunha based some of his descriptions of the conflict on Flávio de Barros' photographs, suggesting that da Cunha's text supplements these images with a violence that is not shown by the camera.[50]

Although I agree with Andermann's suggestion that *Os sertões* reinscribes violence into Barros's images, I argue that this gesture is constructed by da Cunha as part of his revelation that the *conselheiristas* were all killed, which is a crucial aspect of da Cunha's own capture and control of the traces of military violence. As Adriana Campos Johnson reminds us, da Cunha's most powerful and at the same time most deceptive statement about the Canudos Campaign is that Belo Monte was totally annihilated and that its defenders fought (and died) literally to the last man.[51] By suggesting that Belo Monte had no survivors, da Cunha can, as Campos Johnson suggests, speak for the *conselheiristas*: he can silence them. I add that by symbolically burying the community of Belo Monte in the land that came to be known as Canudos, da Cunha

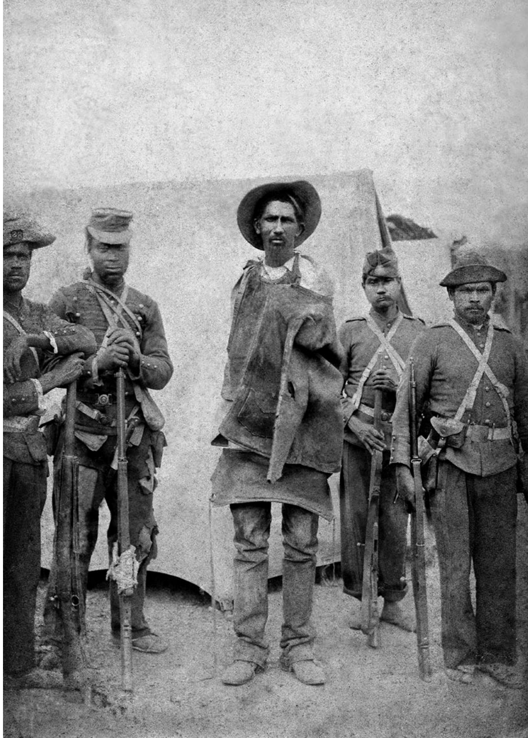


Figure 1.8. "Um jagunço preso" ("Jagunço prisoner"). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 02.48. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

asks his readers to "move forward," diverting their gaze from the *conselheiristas* to the future of the *sertão* and the *sertanejo*.[52] He asks the reader to perform a colonizer's work: to look at the land, study it, and occupy it productively, thus civilizing and absorbing the workforce and the knowledge of the *sertanejo*.

Oral history, however, has shown that there were many survivors of Belo Monte. Survivors were interviewed by journalists including Odorico Tavares (1947) and appear in the work of historians like José Calasans. They were photographed by Pierre Verger (1946), Artur Ikishima (1977), and Mário Cravo Neto (1980), to cite only a few. Survivors also figure in novels about Canudos that have been overshadowed by the success of *Os sertões*, such as *O rei dos jagunços* by Manuel Benício (1899) and *Os jagunços* by Afonso Arinos (1898). If we look carefully

at Barros's own photographs—even in the formally arranged portraits of soldiers—we can also find some of these survivors.

The survivors who appear in Barros's photographs are mostly children, probably orphans, who enter the photographic frame but remain unmentioned in his captions. Three of these children are visible, for instance, in the lower right-hand corner of the image mentioned above showing the soldiers' meal (figure 1.6). Making their way into the frame, these children create an imbalance in the orderly composition of the image. In other images, children stand almost invisibly among soldiers, as if their presence is that of non-subjects, ghostly vestiges who happen to leave a trace on the photographic plate without being the subjects of the portrait. They might have been included in the image as a curiosity or as yet another sign of the humaneness of the army.[53] But they are not mentioned in any of the captions and appear only marginally in the frame. Perhaps these children were attracted to the camera and forced themselves into the visual archive of Canudos. In any case, very little was written about the survivors of Canudos in the first half of the twentieth century, when da Cunha's narrative of Canudos's total annihilation prevailed. In *Os sertões*, these orphans of Belo Monte are not mentioned, although da Cunha himself wrote in his diaries and letters about an orphan he took to São Paulo who later became a teacher,[54] fulfilling da Cunha's own creed concerning the civilizing mission of education.

In addition to these children, corpses are another underexamined presence in Barros's albums. Even though the death of military men is erased from his representation of the conflict, there are two photographs showing the corpses of *conselheiristas*. One of these is "Flanco esquerdo da igreja do Bom Jesus" ("Left wing of Bom Jesus church"), a photo of the structure also known as the Igreja Nova (New Church) by the Belo Monte community (figure 1.9). This solid and imposing, yet unfinished, building, which was designed by Conselheiro and constructed by his followers in Belo Monte's main square, became a strategic site for the *conselheiristas* during the conflict. Consequently, the destruction of this church had a symbolic importance for the army. The church was Conselheiro's monumental work, representing both his skill and his prominence in the life of the community. Moreover, the story of its construction lies at the origin of the violent repression of the community. According to the official narrative, the conflict began when some lumber for the construction of the church was not delivered to Canudos even though the residents had paid for it. When some residents of Canudos declared that they would go find the lumber in the town of Juazeiro,

Figure 1.9. “Flanco esquerdo da igreja do Bom Jesus” (“Left wing of Bom Jesus church”). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 02.43. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

city officials claimed that the city was being threatened, and the governor of Bahia responded by sending 100 armed men to the region. This led to the first military confrontation, which ended in the first defeat of the (local, in this case) government.

Barros’s photograph shows dozens of soldiers standing in front of the destroyed building’s facade, as if occupying the enemy’s territory. Some of them look straight at the camera, while others seem unaware of its presence. An unidentified black soldier in uniform, his eyes hidden by his hat, appears at the left of the frame holding his gun, while white officers, wearing garments that identify their origins (such as the typical *bombacha* from the south of Brazil), pose confidently for the camera. The photograph inadvertently inscribes the racial and economic hierarchies of a post-slavery society into its composition. It is likely that some of these officers, whose poses reproduce a larger body of war portraiture encountered in painting and in the conventions of studio photography, intended to buy some of Barros’s photographs as souvenirs. The presence of blurred figures, however, suggests that not everyone was posing for the camera, imbuing the photograph with a rare sense of spontaneity. At the lower right of the image lies an apparently unno-

ticed corpse. Slightly to the left, another almost invisible corpse can be spotted among the soldiers' feet. In this postwar photograph, an image of victory and occupation, the corpses, which do not have prominence in the image, are captured as remains, spoils of war.

In the only other photograph showing corpses, these emerge as the main subject of the image. "Cadáveres nas ruínas de Canudos" ("Corpses among ruins of Canudos") was taken in the midst of debris from destroyed adobe houses (figure 1.10). Composing the picture must have been difficult, since the left third of the image shows what seems to be the inside of a house and the exposed wooden battens that composed its structure. The camera is facing slightly downwards, to frame the ground, where two corpses are laid out. At the top of the image, we see soldiers. Their heads are almost out of the frame and they are not posing for the camera, even though their pale clothing stands out, making them look like ghostly figures in a scene of death. This image is unique in the context of Barros's archive because it is the only photograph taken in the midst of common houses in ruins and shows corpses of Belo Monte villagers, and also because of its decentralized framing and its non-posed subjects. In contrast to the photograph of soldiers in

Figure 1.10. "Cadáveres nas ruínas de Canudos" ("Corpses among ruins of Canudos"). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 02.41. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

front of the ruins of the Bom Jesus church, the focus here is not on the victors and their defiant enemy, personified by the massive church, but on violence itself, on anonymous, unjustified deaths.

The two pictures displaying corpses perform a similar gesture: they show the victory of the state through the fact that the camera, along with the soldiers, now occupy spaces in Belo Monte.[55] In this sense, they contrast with Barros's panoramic images of Belo Monte, which invoke the moments before the final assault. Respecting the conventions of landscape photography, with a balanced horizontal composition, these *vistas de Canudos* are taken from different locations outside of the settlement (figures 1.11 and 1.12). In all of these vistas, the lower third of the image is occupied by rocky barren land, the middle section shows houses at a distance, while the sky occupies the upper third of the frame. If it were not for the captions and the Bom Jesus church—a massive building that stands out from the others—an ordinary viewer would hardly notice that these three *vistas parciais* (partial views) show different points of view of the town. These landscape photographs, together with the "Panorâmica de Canudos antes do assalto final" ("Panoramic view of Canudos before the final assault"), which is a combination of two complementary photographs, offer the viewer the privileged point

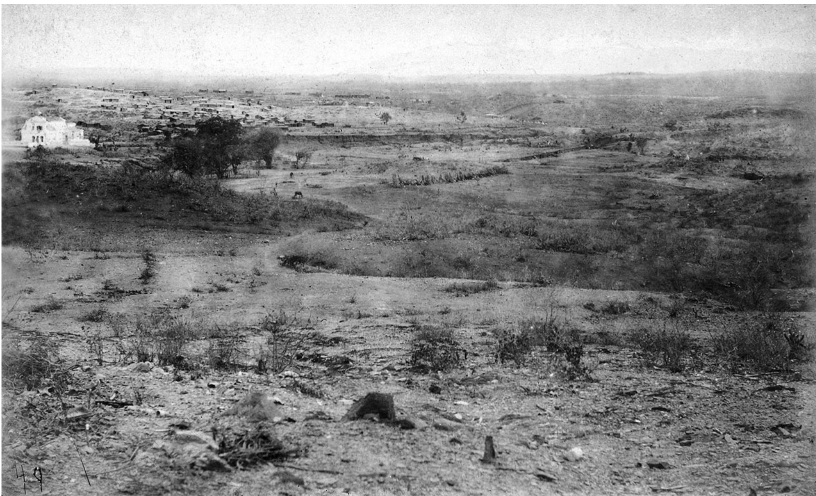


Figure 1.11. "Vista parcial de Canudos e Rio Vaza-Barris, ao nascente" ("Partial view of Canudos and the Vaza-Barris River, east"). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 02.33. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

Figure 1.12. "Vista parcial de Canudos ao norte" ("Partial view of Canudos, north"). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 01.06. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

of view of the conqueror at the moment before he secures control of the territory. Still separated from the town by the barren land that we see in the lower part of the photographs, the camera, and thus the viewer, will soon be brought into the territory of the enemy, once this territory has been conquered by the technologies of war. In offering up the land for the viewer's appropriation, Barros's *vistas* are part of a broader international archive of what W. J. T. Mitchell refers to as "imperial landscaping." In Barros's landscapes, the viewer is not offered, in Mitchell's terms, "utopian fantasies of the perfected imperial prospect" but their counterpart: a defiant territory and "unsuppressed resistance" that are soon to be conquered in the name of a modernizing project.[56]

When referring to images of dead bodies in photographs of the American Civil War, Timothy Sweet suggests that "when the corpses of soldiers were textually or visually represented within the scene of the landscape, they became objects appropriated by the state no less than the land itself over which they fought."[57] For Sweet, Civil War photographs' evocation of the American pastoral and the picturesque

harmony of the landscape helped efface "history" in the name of a totalizing ideal of the garden of America. In contrast, the corpses in Barros's photographs are not incorporated into the landscape, but are framed by the destroyed walls of a town. "Left wing of Bom Jesus church" and "Corpses among ruins of Canudos" (figures 1.9 and 1.10) capture the ruins of a rebellious town before it was further destroyed, dynamited, and burned in order to return "Canudos" to its supposed original state of bare land. In his account of the last day of the Campaign, Col Dantas Barreto describes these two gestures: the victorious soldiers' eager entrance into the ruinous houses of Belo Monte which they curiously inspect, and then their desire to annihilate the town, to make sure that nothing should remain to "remind the traveler of the past existence of a large population, of the largest resistance ever encountered by republican forces" (A última expedição à Canudos, 228). It is only as ruins that "Belo Monte" becomes "Canudos." And it is as bare land, not as the ideal fertile field of the American pastoral imagination, that the *sertão* is framed as a land to be conquered and appropriated.

One could argue that instead of incorporating corpses into harmonious landscape compositions, Barros places them in the long tradition of ruin-gazing, and thus they are a reflection on history: discontinuities and continuities, construction and destruction, rise and decline, and the meaning of the past for the present.[58] The nineteenth-century fascination with ruins certainly appears to have influenced two of Barros's other photographs: "Igreja de Santo Antônio (velha)" ("Church of Santo Antonio (old)," figure 1.13) and "Igreja do Bom Jesus (nova)" ("Bom Jesus Church (new)," figure 1.14). These two photographs of the facades of the "old church" and "new church" of Canudos resemble common nineteenth-century postcards in their careful framing and vertical composition. In accordance with the conventions of the time, people are placed at different points near the structures, both providing a sense of scale and placing the ruins in relation to human subjects. Their still poses are held for varying amounts of time according to the need for shorter or longer exposures and the technology used in the period, but long enough to impregnate these images with a sense of duration. In the case of Barros's images, the two almost identical compositions, however, end up calling attention to their differences. While the photograph of the old church might instill in the fin-de-siècle urban viewer a nostalgia for a picturesque rural Catholicism, the almost unrecognizable ruin of the new church fascinates the viewer with the double magnitude of its construction and destruction. It is as if the new church—Conselheiro's

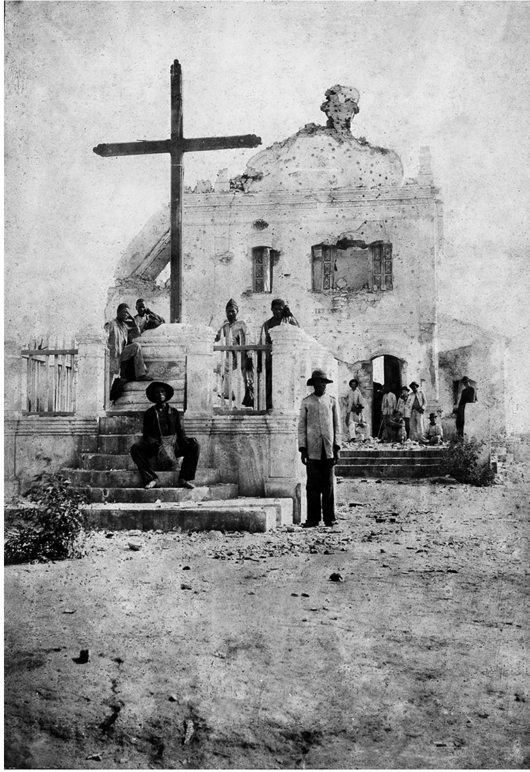


Figure 1.13. "Igreja de Santo Antonio (velha)" ("Church of Santo Antonio (old)"). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 02.52. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

largest architectural project—represented the impossibility of his dream of establishing a religious mecca in Belo Monte. While the Santo Antônio church, which Conselheiro and his followers built in 1893, the year they settled in the region,[59] may appear to an urban audience as an identifiable and even somewhat inhabitable past, the ruins of the more ambitious new church do not show any recognizable ecclesiastical form. Instead of eliciting a nostalgic response, this image fosters the sense that we are gazing at the remains of something that never had a meaningful reality.

In the photographs showing corpses among ruins, however, the ruins do not represent images of time—of destruction and progress, or nostalgia and awe—to be contemplated. The soldiers and officers who appear in the images do not seem to be contemplating or even posing with these ruins. They are occupying the space. Unlike in the photographs of

Figure 1.14. "Igreja do Bom Jesus (nova)" ("Bom Jesus Church (new)"). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 02.19. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

the ruinous facade of the old and new churches, the composition here is unbalanced, and some figures are blurred, suggesting a slightly more improvised action shot. The buildings seen in ruins in "Corpses among ruins of Canudos" (figure 1.10) are adobe houses, a common type of housing in rural areas, and one that would not last, or even leave traces, if it were not for Barros's photograph. By inscribing what should soon be entirely effaced from the land of the *sertão*, especially after a dam was constructed in the area where Belo Monte had existed, "Corpses among ruins" is an image of what Ann Stoler has called ruination, "the ongoing nature of the imperial process" of dislocation and dispossession.[60]

In contrast to these two photographs of corpses among ruins, Antônio Conselheiro's corpse was purposefully separated from the ruins and

moved to an open space in order to be photographed. His followers had buried him next to the old church, in the ground where he lived and preached. When his corpse is found, under ruins and earth, the army separates his corpse from the debris, unburies him, brings him into the light, cleans his face, and brings people to identify him. His head is preserved with the use of chemicals, such as quicklime, and his face is (re)produced through the photochemical processes carried out by Flávio de Barros. Conselheiro's corpse is not incorporated into the ruined land and appropriated by the state in the same way as the bodies of the other *conselheiristas*. Its destiny is to be individualized, displaced, and preserved through chemicals and light so that he can become an object for the scientific gaze and an image for the consumption of an urban public that had closely followed the final phases of the conflict as covered in the newspapers. Conselheiro's body, and, more specifically, his head and face, were destined to be preserved and illuminated by the peculiarly modern combination of science and entertainment. While there are no traces of the photographs of corpses among ruins having circulated in the aftermath of the conflict, the image of Conselheiro's corpse was mentioned a few times.

The actual circulation of Barros's photographs of Canudos is not clear. Even for someone appointed the official photographer of the army, photography was still primarily a private enterprise. According to Cícero Antônio F. de Almeida, Barros probably sold some of the photographs to the officers he portrayed.[61] On October 30, the newspaper *O País* reported that Barros had organized a private screening of lantern-slide versions of his pictures for journalists, and it disclosed the photographer's intention to organize "a public exhibition of his works, which are the object of great curiosity." According to an advertisement in the Rio de Janeiro newspaper *A Gazeta de Notícias*, on February 2, 1898, an electrical projection featuring twenty-five life-sized images of Canudos would bring to the urban public "scenes" of the "extraordinary event" that had ended, four months before, in the destruction of the settlement. The advertisement promised an exposition of the "true and faithful portrait of Antônio Conselheiro," confirming the expectation that this photograph would provide both identity and resemblance; in other words, that its referent was truly Antônio Conselheiro and that the image faithfully reproduced his traits. This advertisement and a second one published in the newspaper *Diário do Espírito Santo* in the same month are the only records we have of the public circulation of this photograph, or any of Barros's photographs, in the aftermath of the conflict.

As a proto-cinematic technology, this electrical exhibition promised a realistic spectacle, in which twenty-five "life-size" images would be projected to the amazement of any audience member able to afford a ticket. The first cinematographic projection in Brazil had been staged for journalists in Rio de Janeiro less than two years before, in July 1896, but cinematic spectacles restaging real-life violence and capitalizing on sensational newspaper coverage only became popular at the beginning of the twentieth century. In her study of the relationship between the development of early twentieth-century film and sensationalist visual culture in Latin America, the film scholar Rielle Navitski shows how early films capitalized on illustrated crime news to build an audience.[62] The Canudos Campaign, which happened right before this period, at a moment when photographs were not often printed in newspapers, occurred at an interesting transitional moment in the history of visual technologies in Brazil. Natalia Brizuela astutely suggests that the lack of critical language for new cinematic or proto-cinematic technologies could be one explanation as to why there were no responses to or reviews of Barros's electrical exhibitions in the newspapers.[63] Since there are no published materials about these exhibitions, we have very little information about which images were exhibited or the order in which they were shown, and thus, of how the photograph of Conselheiro was contextualized. Was it inserted in a chronological narrative of victory? How did it appear in relation to the photographs of prisoners, or to the *vistas*? Were there narrations or captions accompanying it? What we do know is that the advertisement for the exhibition built on the sensationalist language of shock and amazement: "Curiosity! Horror!! Misery!!!" The exhibition was entertainment.

In 1898 and 1899, several reports and books about the conflict were published that formulated important accusations against the army.[64] Although most of these texts derived their authority from the fact that they were eyewitness accounts, none of them included photographs by Flávio de Barros. It is not my intention here to speculate on why this was, but it is important to remark that, although possible, the reproduction of photographs in books was still an expensive process that had not yet been widely adopted by the Brazilian press. Photojournalism was inaugurated in Brazil in 1900 with the *Revista da Semana*. In 1902, by which time photographs accompanying printed texts had become a widespread phenomenon, Flávio de Barros's photographs were printed for the first time in a book that presented itself as an eyewitness account of the conflict: Euclides da Cunha's *Os sertões*.

Although they are marginal in Barros's photographic corpus, his photographs showing orphans and corpses give us a different perspective on *Os sertões*' self-proclaimed feat of being a revelation of the truth about the war, and as a vengeful voice that spoke for the *sertanejos*, a characterization which was largely accepted in the public sphere and even in a large part of twentieth-century historiography. In presenting his book as a text that exposed the horrors committed against Belo Monte by the forces of the state, da Cunha overshadowed previous accounts of such violence and the existence of survivors who could themselves testify to such violence. As for the photographs published in *Os sertões*, da Cunha carefully re-captioned them, and inserted the images into a narrative that places "Canudos"—understood as both the emergence of the community of Belo Monte, and the event of its destruction—in the past. This past provided a double lesson from which the urban public should learn in order to call for a "humane" integration and modernization of the interior of the country.

OS SERTÕES

Os sertões, Euclides da Cunha's first book-length manuscript, became both an instant best-seller and a literary classic, and remains the most-cited work on Canudos even today. More than that, *Os sertões* has become a reference book about Brazil, a kind of foundational text for Brazilian studies, as Regina Abreu has suggested. This outcome, however, was far from obvious at the time. The manuscript had been rejected by *O Estado de São Paulo* and *Jornal do Commercio* before it was finally accepted by Laemmert through recommendations from the critic José Veríssimo and the writer and jurist Lúcio de Mendonça. Da Cunha had to cover half of the publishing costs himself, contributing a total of 1 conto and 500 mil-réis, which represented almost twice his yearly salary as an engineer for the state of São Paulo.[65] The first edition came out on December 2, 1902, in a printing of 1,200 copies of 637 pages each, plus geographic, geological, and botanical maps, as well as three of Barros's photographs. Even though da Cunha chose to print these three photographs in the edition that he partially funded by his own salary, later editions of *Os sertões* chose not to publish any photographs, or else to publish a larger number of them, as if da Cunha's photographic selection and captioning were not really relevant to his work. In contrast, almost all publications of Barros's photographs

throughout the twentieth century used Euclides da Cunha's words as captions or accompanying texts, as if the images would be incomplete if they were to be published alone. In order to examine this suturing of da Cunha's words to Barros's photographs, it is crucial to reintroduce the three photographs initially published in *Os sertões*, taking seriously da Cunha's decision to include them in the book and to re-caption them. The engulfment of the photograph of Antônio Conselheiro's body by da Cunha's words in the ekphrastic gesture that closes *Os sertões* was another formal strategy to perform this suturing.

Before describing the relationship between photography and text in the book, there is something to be said about the use of visible evidence in *Os sertões* as a whole and the writer's recourse to eyewitness testimonial authority. By resorting to visual testimonies, what does da Cunha seek to show or to prove? In his "Nota Preliminar" ("Preliminary Note"), he argues that *Os sertões* has a double aim: first, "to sketch out . . . the most expressive characteristics of the sub-races that inhabit Brazil's backlands today" and, second, to denounce the Canudos Campaign as a crime (*Backlands* 1, 2). These "intentions," he explains, developed as a consequence of the delay in the publication of his book, which was only released after Canudos had "lost its actuality" (1). Da Cunha's emphasis on this delay frames the temporal structure of the book. First, it allows for the construction of a narrator who presents himself as both an eyewitness traveler/observer and an "armchair" writer—part historian, part social scientist—who sets out to make sense of sensory data and archival materials only years after Canudos was destroyed in order to present them to the "eyes of future historians" (1). Second, and most importantly, this delay helps connect the book's call for moral indignation over the extermination of the *conselheiristas* with its encouragement of readers to support or pursue a deeper knowledge about the nation. Using the distance of time, *Os sertões* can present the emergence and destruction of the messianic community as a missed lesson not understood by either the republic or by his younger self, the da Cunha who traveled to Canudos as a news reporter, and thus as an opportunity for advancing knowledge: "This eruption of the past into our present, baring all the cracks and fissures of our evolution as a society, should have alerted us to the opportunity to correct those flaws. But we did not understand the lesson. In the capital of our country, citizens were happy with burning a few journals at the stake and the government then began to act. That meant calling up new battalions" (*Backlands*, 281).

If the republic (and the reporter) failed to learn this "lesson," it is because both lacked the scientific and political tools to understand their own country. Consequently, the annihilation of Belo Monte is presented as the result of flaws in the incipient regime and the not-yet-modern society. If the first lesson about the nation, the reasons for the birth of Canudos, were not understood at the time, the massacre of Canudos is presented as a lesson that can still be learned. Although the first lesson dominates the first two parts of the book, "The Land" and "Man," which present a pseudoscientific study of the "mestiço" people and the "inhospitable" land of the *sertão*, the second lesson is the focus of the third part of the book—"A Luta" ("The Battle")—which condemns the destruction of Canudos as a criminally conducted military campaign that stemmed from an error of judgment. Both of these lessons are referenced throughout the book, but if in the "Preliminary Note" we see them as separate "aims," it is in the final images of the book—the verbal depiction of the photograph of Conselheiro's decomposing body and skull—that the main figures of this double lesson come together. It is in da Cunha's description of the photographing and decapitating of Conselheiro that the face of the deviant other of the republic is engulfed in a critical portrait of the Brazilian nation. At the same time that da Cunha affirms that there was nothing to see in Conselheiro's portrait and skull, that no visible mark of degeneration could be fixed there, Brazil emerges as a racialized nation of *mestiços* that needs to know itself in order to govern itself according to its own needs. By reframing Canudos as an epistemological problem, da Cunha relates the scientific and the prescriptive, knowledge and reform, and presents a past event as an opening onto the future.

Knowledge and History

In Euclides da Cunha's inaugural speech to the Brazilian Academy of Letters in December 1906,[66] he forges an image of himself as an "accidental writer" who is, above all, an observer. He begins his speech by distancing himself from the subjectivism of writers of literature, for whom anything unknown is a "not yet seen aspect of the self."[67] In contrast to those capable of making interpretations "a priori," he is accustomed to contemplating facts "de terra a terra" (during earthly strolls). He then further complicates the terms of objectivism and subjectivism, however, by bringing to the fore a subjective self that exists in the realm of objective observation. While the writer of fiction is the

sovereign of his creation, da Cunha argues, nonfiction writers like himself, who traverse the "unstable" terrain of objective interrogation "ao rés das existências" (at the level of existences), can become fragile and disturbed, perpetually confronted by the imbalance between ideas and what exists, constantly comparing logical and aesthetic syntheses with the ever-changing tableaux of reality. Da Cunha fashions himself in this speech as a writer-observer in the context of late nineteenth-century debates around empiricism and idealism, knowledge and representation. This depiction of a fragile scientific observer "abreviando o espírito à contemplação dos fatos de ordem física" (abbreviating his spirit in the contemplation of facts) resonates with what historians of science Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison call the "epistemic virtue" of the late nineteenth-century scientific observer, whose identity was forged in the struggle of the will against itself, a will strong enough to reach out to the world with an active and disciplined attention, yet at the same time able to prevent itself from imposing potentially erroneous interventions upon the observed.[68]

Da Cunha's focus on the unstable scientific self resonates with the positivist epistemology of the French thinker and historian Hippolyte Taine, whom da Cunha cites in his short prologue to *Os sertões*. Taine's own model of empirical knowledge is that of an unstable subject receiving impressions via sensations, inherently exposed to perceptual error, and constantly at the threshold of hallucination.[69] Not an absence of hallucinations, but the capacity to steer perception away from the perpetual risk of erroneous images is what constitutes the normal functioning of intelligence.[70] To contextualize "normal" we must take into consideration Taine's evolutionist approach to both human psychology and culture, in which environment, race, and epoch (which is inseparable from the first two) play a crucial role.[71]

In *Os sertões* we can see the creation of a narrator who embraces both the idea of rational self-determination and that of biological and geographic determinism. While conceiving of the narrator as a historical subject who embodies Man's (the European male subject) progressive if irregular path to acquire dominion over nature, da Cunha also depicts the *sertanejo* as "affectable," to use Denise Ferreira da Silva's concept, as subject to natural conditions.[72] On one hand, there is the fragile traveler-narrator who navigates the geographic distance from the urban coast to the backlands as a space of instability between sensory perceptions and ideas and between the seeable and the sayable, constantly correcting his senses and adjusting his perceptions and his

ideas (including ideas that are not originally his). On the other hand, da Cunha depicts the inhabitants of the backlands and the fanaticism of the *conselheiristas* as a sign of the primitive/pathological mind of a "sub-race" which, being impressionable and affected by biological and environmental factors, fell prey to religious delusions.[73]

The narrator's references and images, which borrow from various literary and scientific traditions, as well as his attempts to build grand schemes and causal explanations that sometimes seem precarious or unstable, are not, as some scholars have argued, only signs of a failed attempt to control reality through representation—even though one can argue that they actually point to an imminent failure. They are above all a representation of the process of acquiring knowledge and of representation itself.[74] Confidence in the advancement of knowledge is performed through its limitations.

But da Cunha's narrator is not just a reproduction of the European subject. In his struggle, the narrator embodies a project of knowledge and self-determination in the tropics. Without denying the global historical fulfillment of the self-determined subject, da Cunha insists on the positionality of this project in a racialized tropical nation. The limitations faced by the narrator of *Os sertões* are not universal or a priori, but mirror the limits faced by Brazilian science, which was in a somewhat delayed phase on the path toward knowledge and modernization in relation to Europe. Regina Abreu argues that what made da Cunha's book such an important reference point in the development of a twentieth-century tradition of essays on national identity in Brazil is the fact that instead of holding up European science as a model to be copied, da Cunha argued that Brazil needed to find its own concepts, technologies, its own path toward progress.[75] True knowledge about Brazil could only emerge through a long-term study of its people and territory, whose hinterlands had only been studied briefly (and thus inefficiently) by foreign travelers and were totally ignored by the coastal elites, enamored as they were of European ideas.[76]

Instead of determining whether *Os sertões* expresses confidence or hesitation with regard to the progress of modern science and society, I suggest that both stances work together within the temporal framework of the book, which contains a call for national modernization. This call is supposedly complicated by the challenges that the New World's racial and environmental determinants, such as racial miscegenation or tropical climate, posed to the adoption of late nineteenth-century trends of evolutionist thought by the Brazilian scientific and political elites. Here,

I refer to how da Cunha notoriously adapted racial theories of the time that identified miscegenation with degeneration to the particular case of the *sertões*.[77] These are the main topics of the first two parts of *Os sertões*, "The Land" and "Man." In brief, da Cunha describes the *sertanejos* as a somewhat homogeneous mixed-race type—even though the population of the region (and of Canudos specifically) was in reality very diverse and included Indigenous and black populations—in the context of a theoretical framework that understood racial miscegenation as a source of biological degeneration. The formation of this homogeneous "sub-race" of the backlands would have only been possible due to its supposed geographical isolation, which offered a certain advantage to the mixed-raced *sertanejo* in relation to the greater miscegenation that da Cunha saw among the coastal populations. Additionally, the stability of this sub-race meant that the *sertanejos* were adapted to the harsh environment of the *sertão*, which, for da Cunha, explained both their strength and their backwardness. And that is how he transforms the "retrograde" type of the *sertão* into the seed of a future national type, the "bedrock of our race." In his later work *À margem da história* (*The Amazon: Land without History*), the *sertanejo* who migrates to the Amazonian region to work in its extractive industries becomes an important actor in the occupation and exploitation of this other frontier of national expansion.[78] Thus, the *sertanejos* are also the ideal workforce needed for the occupation and transformation of the land. While the lives and characteristics of the populations of the backlands were, for da Cunha, determined by their harsh environment, a modern nation would have to carry out an adaptation of this environment through long-term study, engineering, and work. As he suggests in a 1904 article: "There is no higher mission to our engineering. Only here, at the end of a long enterprise . . . will we be able to delineate a strategic plan for this formidable campaign against the desert."[79]

One of the few critics to focus on da Cunha's "Preliminary Note," Costa Lima, calls attention to the fact that da Cunha both affirms that Canudos was a crime and announces that he will provide a study of the sub-races of the *sertão* that, in his own words, "will soon be vanished types from extinct traditions" (*Backlands*, 1). Costa Lima suggests that da Cunha's evolutionist perspective on the necessary disappearance of the *sertanejo* is contradictory to, or at least contributes to, a weakening of his denunciation of their massacre, and he argues that this contradiction is explained by the fact that da Cunha's denunciatory aim is independent from the scientific (evolutionist) perspective he adopted in

his book.[80] I contend that the scientific and the historic, the evolutionist and the reformist, the racial and the political arguments are all intrinsically connected in the book's temporal organization, which locates European scientific discourses within the project of the creation of a modern Brazilian subject. Da Cunha's indictment of the massacre is crucial for his defense of a mode of obliteration of the other in the form of an engulfment or assimilation of this other, as part of the trajectory of a future realization of a self-determined subject within a heterogeneous (racialized) society. This engulfment of otherness happens in all parts of *Os sertões*. It is performed in the scientific dimension of the text, such as in the description of the *sertanejos* as *mestiços* (persons of mixed race), which obliterates the Indigenous and black subjects from the imaginary space of the nation. And it is played out in the way in which da Cunha denounces the massacre, dissolving the binary language of war and turning the public's attention to its own backwardness and its own role in the construction of this locally specific, tropical and miscegenated modernity: "It proves that we are not much more civilized than our backward countrymen" (*Backlands*, 281). In attempting to teach the public how to read the bodies and ruins of Canudos, and pointing out the obstacles for a true modernizing national project, *Os sertões* turns the barbaric violence committed against Canudos into a necessary step in that assimilation of the other because it allows the urban elite to finally see, in the traces of this violence, the birth of the national subject.

In terms of the political and reformist dimensions of the text, we should not forget the identity of the addressee of da Cunha's denunciation of the Canudos massacre, who is now responsible for acting: "But we did not understand the lesson. In the capital of our country, citizens were happy with burning a few [newspapers][81] at the stake and the government then began to act. That meant calling up new battalions" (*Backlands*, 281). Who is this "we" who should have known better? If the literate urban citizens, the press, and the government are the subjects of this accusation, it is because these are the same people responsible for the progress of the nation. Da Cunha's criticism is particularly directed at the state and the press, the two institutions that could regulate or mediate the potential excesses of the masses. Inspired by contemporary social psychology's studies of the dangers of a rising of the urban masses,[82] da Cunha describes how the accelerated change of regime brought about by the fall of the Brazilian Empire, which was not accompanied by an increase in education, fostered the debasement of democratic principles, social instability, and the emergence of strong leaders and cynical agita-

tors who "made all manner of excess possible" (234). For da Cunha, the retrograde wrath exhibited by the urban dwellers against Canudos—the epitome of which appears at the end of the book when he describes Conselheiro's decapitated head being "taken to the coast, where it was greeted by crowds dancing in the streets in impromptu carnival celebrations" (464)—evinces both the state of barbarism of a *mestiço* society, and also the lack of a politically educated class and solid political institutions: "we must interrupt our search through the debris and focus our attention on a certain similarity between the events at Rua do Ouvidor and an incident in the *caatinga*, both of them equally savage" (280).

More than two separate "intentions," scientific and ethical knowledge converge in the narrator's own trajectory from ignorance to illumination, a narrative that needs the scene of the barbarous annihilation of the *conselheiristas* to take place. The violent massacre of Canudos was the necessary (mis)step of the urban political and military elite that can teach the narrator the true lesson about the nation. At the same time that da Cunha's narrator enacts, in the first two parts of the book, the self-determining subject in the process of acquiring knowledge, he suggests, in the "Preliminary Note," that a delay was necessary in order for that subject to be forged, because this subject is born after the massacre. This also helps explain why the first two descriptive parts of the book are interpolated with omens of the tragedy to come: images of death and plants that look like decapitated heads infuse the book, as Antônio Cândido has remarked, with a tragic element. As poetic predictions of an outcome already known to the reader, this tragic dimension also helps to construct the relationship between human error and necessity, between moral condemnation and acceptance of the death of the *conselheiristas* that pervades *Os sertões*. Ultimately, the supposed absence of survivors of Canudos means that the problem we have to face is not "them" but "us"—we must acknowledge that "they" live in "us" as a nation.

Photographs, Captions, and Ekphrasis

All of the three photographs printed in *Os sertões* are included in part 3, "The Battle," and thus are part of the narration of the second lesson, which concerns the mistakes made by the republic. Da Cunha himself did not witness the most emblematic scenes of violence against the *conselheiristas*, the decapitations and executions that, according to *Os sertões*, revealed the barbarity of the army. In fact, although the

narrator in the third part of *Os sertões* derives his authority from being an eyewitness account of a brutal massacre, da Cunha did not actually see very much. He was in the area of the conflict only for the last part of the fourth expedition, and most of his time was spent in Monte Santo, a village that served as the operational base for the army. Invited by the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo* to cover the Canudos Campaign, da Cunha left São Paulo on August 1, 1897, and arrived in Salvador, the capital of Bahia province, on August 7. During the twenty-three days he stayed in Salvador, da Cunha investigated historical, geographic, and climatic aspects of the backlands, interviewed people who had returned from the front (including a fourteen-year-old boy), took notes in what would become his *Caderneta de Campo*,[83] and wrote articles for *O Estado de São Paulo* in which he supported the army's efforts to put down what he saw as a regressive anti-republic uprising. After ten days in Monte Santo, da Cunha arrived in Canudos on September 16 and left on October 3 after falling ill.

A large part of *Os sertões* is composed of scientific, historical, journalistic, and fictional texts by other authors. Situating it in relation to the Brazilian modernist movement, Leopoldo Bernucci calls *Os sertões* the first great "cannibalist" work in Brazilian literature.[84] The book includes da Cunha's own field notes and articles, but it also paraphrases newspaper reports, diaries, and telegrams from other journalists and from soldiers, sometimes citing its sources and sometimes not. They are arranged here in a narrative told by a double gaze, that of the traveler-observer and that of the historian who later makes sense of documents and sensory perceptions. It is not unlikely that da Cunha's descriptions of Canudos and the *canudenses* were based on some of Barros's images, as Bertold Zilly, and later Jens Andermann, have argued. As with its use of other archival materials, the photographs played a part in turning *Os sertões* into a work of history through its assimilation of documents. Da Cunha's direct use of Barros's photographs, however, is discreet.[85] The three images printed in the first edition of *Os sertões* do not show dead bodies or ruins, *jagunços*, or vistas of Canudos. They show the two sides of the conflict, specifically, soldiers and captured *conselheiristas*. The captions used by da Cunha explain why and how we should view these images.

Barros had captioned the photographs "Divisão Canet" ("Canet Division"), "7º Batalhão de Infantaria nas trincheiras" ("7th Infantry Battalion at the trenches"), and "400 jagunços prisioneiros" ("400 captured jagunços"), but da Cunha changed their titles to "Monte Santo (Base das operações)" ("Monte Santo (Base of operations)"), "Acampa-

mento dentro de Canudos" ("Campsite inside Canudos"), and "As prisioneiras" ("The female prisoners") (see figures 1.15, 1.16, and 1.17). In the first two photographs, which portray the army, the change in caption recasts the images to make them more representative and less specific, while locating them geographically.

Monte Santo, located southwest from Canudos, is described in *Os sertões* as a pleasant landscape as seen from above, described by the reporter as soon as he arrives:

> Tucked at the base of the only mountain in the region, the town provides a contrast to the otherwise sterile landscape. Walls of bare rock rise to the north and east and form a barrier to the sea breezes. The sudden ascent of the wind up the mountain wall provides a cooling effect and condenses the scant moisture it holds, regularly depositing it as rain. This creates a better climate than that of the neighboring backlands where the wind blows dry after its descent from the highlands. (*Backlands*, 206)

Monte Santo appears at the start of "The Battle," the narrative of the armed conflict, as a kind of pleasant final step before entering the reality of the conflict and of the dry and inhospitable *sertão*. In narrating the second military expedition to Canudos, da Cunha ironically describes the misguided optimism of the troops:

> The rebels would be destroyed by iron and fire. Like the wheels of Shiva's chariot, the treads of the Krupp cannons would roll over the vast plains, over the high ridges and down into the broad valleys, leaving behind furrows filled with blood. It was important to teach these barbaric criminals a lesson. These backward heathens had committed the grave sin of stupidly clinging to ancient traditions. Energetic corrective measures were needed to drag them out of the barbaric behavior that was a stain on our country. They should be prodded into civilization at sword point. Everyone was convinced that an example would be made of these people. (*Backlands*, 210)

The irony in this passage is directed not only at the bloodthirsty soldiers who condemn the *conselheiristas*' barbaric behavior without realizing

Figure 1.15. "Divisão Canet" ("Canet Division"). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 02.44. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

their own barbarity, but also at the army's blind confidence in its technological superiority. In this chapter, titled "Victory Taken for Granted," da Cunha explains that "Monte Santo got the impression that victory was guaranteed" (*Backlands*, 211). Upon advancing through the text, the reader learns that what led to the failure of the second expedition was not only wrongheaded optimism, but a lack of military knowledge, organization, and tactics, a "total ignorance of the basics of warfare" (213). The expedition departed without proper information about the terrain or the enemy, and thus without a plan for a strategic distribution of its troops. The commanding officers believed they could win the "war" with a set of obsolete formulas for warfare and a set of modern weaponry that was "completely inappropriate for the current situation" (213).

Captioned by da Cunha as "Monte Santo (Base of operations)," the first photograph to appear in *Os sertões* shows soldiers posing with two cannons and two loaded carts in the pleasant square of Monte Santo. With the town's church on their left side and the hill in the background carefully framed by Barros, the few soldiers and their weaponry occupy almost the entire visible section of the plaza. They all pose for and look at the camera. While Flávio de Barros's caption, "Canet Division,"

emphasizes the role and prestige of the division that would bring technologically superior weaponry to the Canudos Campaign, da Cunha's caption calls the reader's attention to the specific location where the photograph was taken. In erasing the reference to the Canet Division, da Cunha disassociates the photograph from the victorious narrative of the fourth expedition. When reading this image alongside da Cunha's descriptions of Monte Santo, these soldiers seem presumptuous and misinformed. They are about to lose, if not the war, their aura of modernity and technological superiority.

To support da Cunha's critique, the second photograph, titled by the photographer "7th Infantry Battalion at the trenches" and re-captioned by da Cunha as "Campsite inside Canudos," emphasizes what the soldiers looked like at Canudos (figure 1.16). The photograph should take us closer to what the battle, according to da Cunha, was really like: "the brutal manhunt beating through the brush for the target at Canudos, was going to be reduced to a series of fierce attacks, agonizing delays, and sudden skirmishes" (*Backlands*, 214). This is one of the few of Barros's photos in which the soldiers are not in lines or formation, and

Figure 1.16. "7º Batalhão de infantaria nas trincheiras" ("7th Infantry Battalion at the trenches"). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 02.05. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

in which there is not much space between officers and soldiers. In the foreground, sitting on the floor or standing on the sides at the margins of the frame, we see soldiers wearing ragged clothes, opened shirts, and sandals. There are so many soldiers that they fade away into the background of the photo.

By emphasizing the difference between Monte Santo and the army camps, the new captions chosen by da Cunha suggest a correspondence between the images and the author's double critique of the Brazilian army. As an engineer trained in a military school, he suggests, on the one hand, that the army was barbarically chaotic, lacking rationality and strategy: "They were going to face the unknown with the fragile armor of their impulsive bravery, so typical of our people" (*Backlands*, 203). On the other hand, he criticizes it for attempting to mimic the European model, following books and manuals and using equipment that were not suited to the *sertanejos*' terrain: "The commanding officer of the expedition borrowed a few principles of Prussian tactics as if he were leading a small army corps through some meadow in Belgium" (213).

While da Cunha's use of the first photo seems to refer to the sophisticated but useless weaponry that was brought to Monte Santo but could not serve in the field, the second photograph shows the disorganization of a brave but savage battalion that fought in the trenches. Brazil's lack of a modern army is also part of *Os sertões*' core argument: The Canudos Campaign was not a victory of the republic over a monarchist insurgency (as da Cunha himself had initially believed), but evidence that the nation wasn't modern enough. Modernity, in this sense, was not merely a set of rules that could be applied to the Brazilian geographic and cultural reality, but rather the capacity to rationally adapt to this reality:

> They should have been prepared for this situation and issued appropriate clothing, such as the cowmen wore. The leather armor of the sertanejo, the sturdy sandals, shin guards, and leggings through which the thorns of the xique-xiques could not penetrate, as well as chest protectors and leather hats anchored firmly with chin straps, might have allowed them to travel safely through this vegetation. One or two properly equipped and trained units would have been able to mimic the amazing mobility of the jagunços. . . . This would not have been excessive. The European striped dolmans and highly polished boots were much more out of place in the caatingas. (*Backlands*, 292–93)

The kind of adaptation the narrator envisions suggests that the army should have strategically imitated the *jagunços*' relationship to their environment and the ways the rebels used their knowledge of the land to fight: "Given the nature of the land and the people, this war should have been in the more capable hands of a guerrilla warfare strategist—someone who could innovate on the spot" (*Backlands*, 214). This double critique of the Brazilian army corresponds to the broader lesson that the extermination of Canudos revealed and, consequently, to da Cunha's own national project: he supported neither the barbaric natural man nor the thoughtless importing of European ideas, but the trajectory of the Brazilian man (gender intended) toward self-determination through the assimilation of the other of modernity. The (assimilable) characteristics of the "sub-race" of the *sertão* were precisely those that made them well adapted to the land. If it is through a kind of perfect biological adaptation to his environment that the *sertanejo* can be seen as a "strong race," the value of the *jagunço*, the combatant or bandit of the *sertão*, is his knowledge of the land.[86]

This leads us to the third photograph published in the book, which is the only image printed by da Cunha that exhibits the other side of the conflict, the *conselheiristas* (figure 1.17). As I have mentioned, none of Barros's photographs of the settlement that da Cunha describes using so many metaphors and adjectives—"sinister civitas," a "monstrous aggregation of mud huts," a "grotesque parody of ancient Roman dwellings"—appear in the book. Nor does the image of the new church built by Conselheiro, which, according to da Cunha, replicated the form of Conselheiro's irrationality. The only photograph of Canudos printed in *Os sertões* shows a multitude of destitute men, women, and children surrounded by standing soldiers. The change in the third photo's caption from "400 jagunços prisioneiros" ("400 captured jagunços") to "As prisioneiras" ("The female prisoners") is revealing in its simultaneous erasure of the pejorative term *jagunço*, typically used to describe the Canudos combatants—and its change in the gender from masculine to feminine. With this caption, the photograph becomes an image of affectable *sertanejos*: their vulnerability not only embodies da Cunha's prediction in the "Preliminary Note" that they will vanish with the evolution of Brazilian society, but their imminent execution demonstrates the irresponsible, criminal, and ultimately unnecessary violence of the state. Although da Cunha explicitly depicts this violence as unnecessary, because the affectable *sertanejos* could (or would) have disappeared by other means, this excessive brutality and its representation appear in

Figure 1.17. "400 jagunços prisioneiros" ("400 captured jagunços"). Photograph by Flávio de Barros, 1897. Coleção Canudos, Museu da República, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 01.09. Reproduced by permission of Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, Museu da República.

Os sertões as necessary for the public's realization that Brazil needs a national scientific and political project.

Da Cunha's relevant passage here is as follows:

> There was not an able-bodied man among them, no one able to carry a weapon. There were nothing but women, ghosts of women, young girls prematurely aged, the young and old alike in their ugliness, filth, and state of extreme malnourishment. The children could barely stand on their bowed legs. They clung to their mothers' backs or to their withered breasts. . . . There were few men among them, only invalids, who had swollen waxy faces, bent over double, wobbling as they walked. (*Backlands*, 460)

These ghost-like women and children (and invalid men) are presented by da Cunha as if already dead. As remnants of the past, they are represented through a double recourse to the archive: notes from someone's

journal and a photograph. Testimony and image are brought together to keep these remnant others as indexical traces, exterior to the narration, but woven into it. The only photograph of *conselheiristas* published in *Os sertões*—framed in words as an image of powerless, mute, and affectable subjects who are already dying—presents the army's actions not only as cruel, but as mostly futile. It is these affectable *sertanejos*, deluded by religious fanaticism and weak, who are the visible other of the modern subject being forged in da Cunha's text.

Susan Sontag suggests that captions, especially those created for photographs that foster specific political agendas, frequently work as the missing voice of photographs.[87] The belief that photographs themselves do not speak can be related to the very muteness of the other of the image. That da Cunha intends to speak for the image and for the subjects of the image is clear in a letter dated from 1902 to his friend Francisco Escobar, in which he presents *Os sertões* as an "avenging book": "I am heartened by the ancient conviction that the future will read it. That is what I want. I will be an avenger and will have played a great role of advocate for the poor *sertanejos* assassinated by a . . . cowardly and bloody society."[88] As Adriana Campos Johnson has stressed, da Cunha's version of the outcome of the military expedition buttresses the perception that none of the Canudos combatants survived, and this letter shows that he wants to be the voice of the dead *conselheiristas*, to speak in their name.

Together, the three re-captioned photographs not only emphasize the generalizable, unnamed, de-individualized characters who took part in the conflict, but also configure them as representatives of the main flaws of a Brazilian past that must be overcome.

The formal entanglement between photography and narrative is even more crucial to understanding the fourth photograph, which da Cunha did not print, but which nonetheless has a central place in *Os sertões*: the picture of the corpse of Antônio Conselheiro. Before this passage, da Cunha had depicted Conselheiro as both barbaric and incomprehensible.[89] The messianic leader is not rendered mute in the book, but his words and works appear to be unassimilable. About the new church that was being built in Canudos, for example, da Cunha says:

> The enormous disproportionate facade stood facing the east, with its mask of grotesque friezes, impossible volutes, its delirium of curves, horrible ogives, and embrasures. It was an indecipherable, shapeless mass, something like an exhumed

> crypt, as if the builder had tried to capture in stone and limestone the disorder of his own diseased mind. This was his masterpiece, and he spent days at a time on the high scaffolding. (*Backlands*, 161)

Although he acknowledges that Conselheiro produced written texts, speeches, and architectural works, da Cunha cannot refer to them except as illogical and indecipherable.[90] Not mute, but incomprehensible, the figure of Conselheiro is described via a geological metaphor: he is an "anticline" that has been "pushed up" by our "deep ethnic strata" (*Backlands*, 124). Conselheiro is the *sertão* itself, its inhospitable earth and its people. But he is not merely a representative character: he is its deepest, oldest layer, "like a fossil" (124). Thus, he is the potential force that could emerge from the earth itself, disrupting the path to progress. This characterization is reinforced by da Cunha's verbal description of Conselheiro's corpse, which was exhumed, literally extracted from the earth, his "olhos fundos cheios de terra" ("deep eyes filled with dust"), at the end of *Os sertões*.[91] The eyes, which, in the Romantic tradition, are the windows to the soul, in the case of Antônio Conselheiro carry the trace of the earth from which he emerged.[92]

This non-Romantic attachment to the surface, and this attentiveness to the visible are, as Rachel Price has shown, an important aspect of *Os sertões*.[93] Everything in the text seems to be reduced to the level of perception. Canudos itself is described as "a city that has been shaken and thrown about by an earthquake" (*Backlands*, 151). In this ruinous landscape, different strata are visible, bringing together past and present: "It was born old" (151). If Canudos emerges as "a city of ruins" (151), the settlement was built in an area that already seemed to be "uma vala comum enorme" (*Os sertões*, 178), meaning both a moat and a grave,[94] as if its birth and death were contemporaneous, and time could be read in the space itself.[95]

In an earlier passage of *Os sertões*, da Cunha describes Conselheiro as a "highly impressionable" surface that carries the inscriptions of its surroundings (*Backlands*, 124). It is not through physiognomy, however, that Conselheiro's face reveals the truth of Canudos. Da Cunha emphasizes that Conselheiro's corpse has reached "a condition of advanced decomposition" and "would not have been recognized by those who had been closest to him in life" (464) when he is photographed. Conselheiro's face must be disappearing (decomposing) in order to reveal the *sertão* itself as a conquerable space. Disappearance is enacted by the

writer's double gesture, in which he chooses to describe the photograph in words instead of printing it and he describes the body as decomposed matter, almost indistinguishable from the earth.

The reference to the photograph of Conselheiros's corpse appears in the penultimate chapter of *Os sertões*. A few paragraphs previously, da Cunha announces the end of his book by refusing to narrate the last days of the conflict because "they are impossible to describe" (*Backlands*, 463). After this short section[96] on the impossibility of narrating the cruelty of the final moments of the conflict, the narrator tells us how soldiers found the place where Conselheiro was buried and carefully exhumed the body, "a valuable relic and the only prize this war had to offer. They took care that it did not fall apart. If it had, they would have had nothing but a disgusting mess of rotting flesh on their hands. They photographed it and drew up a document certifying its identity" (464).

Os sertões ends with a description of a photographic gesture that attempts to fix the other, even though the other is already disappearing. But the book does not end there. The narrator tells us that taking a photograph was not sufficient, so the soldiers decided to cut off and take his head:

> The corpse was decapitated and the horrible face, running with scars and pus, again faced the victors. Afterward they took it to the coast, where it was greeted by crowds dancing in the streets in impromptu carnival celebrations. Let science have the last words. There, in plain sight, was the evidence of crime and madness. (*Backlands*, 464)

Photograph and corpse seem, at first sight, to be aspects of an objectifying and fixing vision, capable of turning the other into an object of study. But they are not merely objects to be gazed upon. Like Medusa, decapitated and monstrous, Conselheiro's face gazes back, exposing the urban spectator's own barbarity and backwardness, personified by the crowd at the carnival celebrations. In the brief last chapter, made up of one single sentence, da Cunha laments the absence of a science to study the "madness and crimes" of nations.

In describing Conselheiro's face and image in words, da Cunha demonstrates a fear of the other, at the same time as he overcomes it by engulfing the other into the text of the nation. Despite having told us that words are not enough to describe the horrors of the war, da Cunha does not show the image of Conselheiro's corpse (the image of

horror), but describes it in words, thus reaffirming the power of words. *Os sertões*'s ekphrastic closure fits well with what W. J. T. Mitchell calls "ekphrastic hope":[97] it performs the hope of overcoming otherness through the assimilation of Conselheiro into the national text. Finally, it does so by emphasizing the process—thus imbuing the image with temporal duration—of decomposition of this body, which will be assimilated by the Brazilian land.

Largely based on this ending, some authors have argued that *Os sertões* announces, maybe against its own will, the imminent catastrophe of the author's positivist project.[98] Instead, I argue that the gesture of pointing to the impossibility of reading Conselheiro's face, or this final inversion in which the republic turns into its barbaric other, is a condensed image of da Cunha's entire book, as it inaugurates a project of a modern nation in the tropics based on the annihilation of alterity. Da Cunha's gesture of engulfing Conselheiro's image within his text, making him disappear, goes along with both his attempt to assimilate the *sertanejos* through their representation as a strong, homogeneous *mestiço* type, and with his representation of *sertanejos* as affectable, disappearing subjects. The history of formation of a modern Brazilian nation in *Os sertões* means both the assimilation of the (plural, varied) *sertanejos* as resilient Brazilian *mestiço* workers, who will be able to occupy and transform the tropical land, ranging from the dry backlands of Bahia to the wet Amazonian forest; and the creation of an ever-vanishing affectable other of modernity, whose lives do not count as much because they are always already dying, like the prisoners in Barros's photograph.

In a series of three articles for the Rio de Janeiro newspaper *O Paiz* in 1904, which were republished in the book *Contrastes e confrontos* under the title "Plano para uma cruzada" ("Plan for a Crusade"), da Cunha reiterates his call for a well-planned and well-informed intervention in Brazil's dry hinterlands. Taking as an example the work of colonial scientists and engineers in other regions, who, according to him, "have shown that it is possible to modify the earth and transfigure the climate," da Cunha suggests that "this marvelous enterprise which is the reconstruction of the land redeems these invasions and their great brutalities."[99] Without mentioning Canudos, da Cunha suggests that in the case of Brazil, transforming the land is something that the urban elites owe to the *sertanejos*, who have been pushed out of the *sertões* by droughts to "heroically" occupy all the backlands of Brazil, including the Amazon: "we owe our relative opulence to their misery, and the best

of our glories to their disgrace."[100] These underexamined articles shed light on da Cunha's entwining of the scientific and the denunciatory dimensions of *Os sertões*. They both decry the state's past brutality and redeem this violence through the assimilation of traces of destruction into a history of progress as a "transfiguration" of the land.

However, as Mitchell suggests, "ekphrastic hope rarely occurs without some admixture of ekphrastic fear."[101] Through his ekphrastic description of Conselheiro's image, da Cunha merges the face of madness, or barbarism, with the fears of a land and people that cannot be entirely controlled. The last image of the book, the ekphrastic presentation of Conselheiro's photograph, is no doubt a critique of state violence, and a reminder of the crimes committed in the name of modernization. It is simultaneously an attempt to control the meanings of the traces of violence, inscribing them in a broader history of national progress. As in other examples of humanitarian and reformist campaigns at the time, and even today, da Cunha's appropriation of the traces of the Canudos massacre does not question the dichotomy between civilization and barbarism; instead, it calls for an end to "barbarism" through a civilizing project based on other forms of violence and subjugation. It is, ultimately, an attempt to guarantee that Conselheiro's image would be subsumed to this narrative of progress, that it would not threaten the national text with alternative projects and dreams.

This attempt has partly failed because Conselheiro's photograph, as well as other parts of the vast archive of Canudos, such as the prophet's manuscripts, oral histories, and testimonies from survivors, have been mobilized in various ways since then. In 2014, for example, the Museu da República in Rio de Janeiro held a public exhibition of Barros's photographs of the conflict. Associating the fight of the *canudenses* with other struggles, such as that of Rio de Janeiro's *favela* dwellers against the constant threat of eviction in the name of a supposedly more "rational" urban planning, the museum provided a didactic example of how the trajectory of these photographs has gone beyond the aims of those that Flávio de Barros and Euclides da Cunha predicted.[102]

CHAPTER 2

Scars

Humanitarianism and the Colonial Point of View

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the Amazonian region was a disputed frontier for state expansion and consolidation, as well as for incorporation into the fold of global market relations, mainly as an exporter of "raw" or "primary" commodities. These mutually constitutive processes[1] were especially rapid and violent in the unstable Amazonian territory lying at the borders between Peru, Colombia, and Ecuador, in the context of the vertiginous growth in demand for Amazonian latex in the second half of the nineteenth century. From 1870 to 1909, British finance drove the Amazon rubber industry forward, and the bicycle craze of the 1890s as well as the popularization of the automobile after 1900 further increased the market demand for rubber, which began to outstrip the means of supply.[2] Given that it was not until 1910 that rubber plantations in Southeast Asia became economically viable, the rubber trade at the turn of the century depended heavily on the extraction of wild Amazonian rubber, which generated enormous wealth for a local and international elite.

While providing raw material for the most technologically advanced industries at the time, which produced devices that became symbols of modern life, the process of rubber extraction was not significantly different from the traditional Indigenous modes of rubber harvesting, and the system of exchange employed resembled the one that had furthered the commercial exploitation of the Amazon in colonial times. Incredi-

ble stories of fortunes made and lost, of the enslavement of Indigenous populations, and of assassinations among rubber tappers circulated in the metropolitan centers. From 1870 to the 1920s, rubber extraction in the Amazon catalyzed local, national, and global images of progress and catastrophe, of virtue and moral decay. One sees this captured in Werner Herzog's filmic portrayal of Fitzcarraldo, the opera lover who, in order to access territory rich in rubber that would provide him with the money to build an opera house in Iquitos, Peru, decides to transport a steamship over a steep hill. The movie, which is named after its protagonist and claims to be based on the true story of a nineteenth-century rubber baron, is about the delirious dream of a civilized man in the jungle. Along with stories about the deadly conflicts that occurred throughout the vast Amazonian territory, these rubber legends marked the growth of the modern Amazon towns of Manaus and Iquitos—the opera house in Manaus is still upheld as the great symbol of the civilizing of the jungle.

It was also the Amazonian rubber boom that triggered one of the first and most organized transnational humanitarian campaigns, led by the Irishman and British consul Roger Casement from 1910 to 1913.[3] This chapter examines Casement's production and circulation of photographs of Indigenous bodies to provide visible evidence of the crimes committed by a British-registered private corporation in the Amazonian region and to build a consensus on the inadmissibility of such violence. Instead of attempting to assimilate the traces of violence into a teleological narrative of modernization, Casement strives to situate these traces, mostly scars on the bodies of Amazonian Indigenous subjects, in a long history and extended geography of colonial exploitation. Ultimately, Casement suggests that the ability to see the ongoing violence inscribed in these bodies is itself embedded in this history, and that political reform depended on the construction of a public that sees and thinks not from the interests of capital, but from "a humanitarian or altruistic standpoint."[4]

For years, representations of the wounded bodies of Amazonian Indigenous workers circulated in Amazonian towns such as Iquitos and Manaus. It was only in 1909, however, that they grabbed the attention of international liberal public opinion, following the publication of an article authored by Sydney Paternoster (under his pseudonym, Scrutator) and based on testimony by the American engineer Walter Hardenburg in the British watchdog magazine *Truth*.[5] The article accused the British-registered Peruvian Amazon Company (PAC) of using torture

and murder to coerce members of Indigenous communities from the Putumayo region into tapping rubber and of bringing workers from Barbados to work as foremen. Registered in Britain in 1907, PAC took over the business of the Peruvian company J. C. Arana y Hermanos (Arana Brothers), known in the region as the Casa Arana. This company was owned by Julio César Arana, who later became the manager of PAC and a member of its board.[6] Hardenburg reproduced stories that had circulated in the Peruvian town of Iquitos for many years describing flogging, castration, dismemberment, death from starvation, and various kinds of torture. In response to the public outrage and pressure from the British Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society, the PAC's English shareholders decided in June 1910 to send a five-man commission to investigate the company's commercial activities in the Putumayo region. The British Foreign Office took this opportunity to send its own independent representative, Roger Casement.

Casement, then a British consul in Rio de Janeiro and widely respected among antislavery activists for his participation in the Congo Reform Campaign, was appointed to investigate the allegations against the Peruvian Amazon Company. Concerning the stories of abuse that he set out to investigate, Casement affirmed that they seemed "incredible and unreal, and a gross exaggeration."[7] It is not that Casement did not believe the grave accusations. In his diary and correspondence, he stated without hesitation that the rubber trade relied on a "truly devilish system of cruelty" (*The Amazon Journal*, 248), torture, and the extermination of local Putumayo populations and that it forced its Barbadian employees, through a system of debt peonage, into working toward that end.[8] Before departing to the region, Casement not only suggested that he did not have to witness scenes of torture in order to believe the testimonies circulated by the press, but also expressed his conviction that he would not be able to visually confirm the allegations. In spite of the abundance of stories and images of atrocity, Casement confessed, in a letter written in September 1910 in Iquitos, Peru, while he prepared for a trip to the barracks of La Chorrera and El Encanto, the main stations of PAC in the Putumayo basin, that he feared he would "not be able to do more than lay bare a small part only of what actually takes place" in the region (42). Later his fears were confirmed: in Putumayo, he found that there was no paper trail, and the employees of the company mounted a cover-up during his visit. Thus, he did not frame his mission as a search for truth, but as a quest to produce proof of such crimes capable of convincing public opinion to press for justice and for

convicting the perpetrators of what Casement once termed a "crime against humanity" (178). The double threat posed by the invisibility and hypervisibility of violence in the Amazon—the proliferation of stories and images of atrocity that seemed too excessive to be considered true—posed another problem for Casement, namely, how to address the transatlantic urban elite in such a way that they felt partially responsible for these crimes in order to prompt them to act politically to stop them. In other words, Casement's evidence had to transcend the local context of the "tropical jungle," so often portrayed as a space of horror or madness,[9] and link the discourse of liberalism with that of colonial oppression, as well as shed light on the responsibility of the expansionist impulse of financial capital and global supply chains for the enslavement of Indigenous peoples.[10]

In his effort to produce material evidence that could cross the Atlantic, Casement intertwined various writing and photographic genres, from the ethnographic monograph to the travel diary, from the humanitarian photograph of scarred bodies to the anthropometric and the picturesque portrait. The evidence shows that Casement shot around seventeen rolls of film during his trip to the Putumayo region. In addition to his official report to the Foreign Office,[11] Casement also wrote two diaries, widely known today as the Black and White Diaries, and many letters to his British counterparts. The so-called White Diaries, or, in Angus Mitchell's commented edition, *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, comprise his writings from September 23 to December 6, 1910, and were offered by Casement as evidence to the chair of the Select Committee on Putumayo Atrocities in 1913. The Black Diaries—written in 1903, 1910, and 1911—contain more fragmentary and hurried notes, many narrating the same events that are recounted in the White Diaries, and were strictly private.[12] The Black Diaries became well known for containing sexually charged notes revealing that Casement liked to have sex with men. In this chapter, I quote more frequently from Casement's *Amazon Journal*, in which he repeatedly mentions the act of photographing. In addition, there is some evidence to suspect that Casement was thinking of the future publication of the White Diaries, which makes them another important source to understand his concept of evidence. As Mitchell revealed, the consul did offer a copy of the White Diaries to Charles Roberts, chairman of the Select Committee's enquiry, along with other documents of evidence that he felt might be relevant to the enquiry: "The diary is a pretty complete record and were I free to publish it would be such a picture of things out there, written

down red hot as would convince anyone."[13] Hence, the diaries should be read as a particular kind of evidence, a document made to persuade and educate, more than merely as an aide-mémoire.

Although there is a large amount of scholarly work on Casement's writings on the Putumayo region, on the role of his diaries in conveying his anti-imperialist position (Burroughs, Mitchell), on the objectivist language in which he wrote his official report to the Foreign Office, on the so-called Blue Book (Taussig), on his voluminous correspondence with English and Irish colleagues (Casement; O'Callaghan), and on his pioneering use of hundreds of testimonies from victims (Burroughs),[14] little has been said about Casement's photographs. The apparently inconsistent nature of this archive, as well as the fact that Casement was not a professional photographer, might partially explain this lack of scholarly interest. It is this apparent inconsistency that I explore in this chapter. By examining all the supposedly dissimilar images gathered in Casement's archive together as part of his pedagogy of the gaze, instead of separating them into genres or categories, we can better understand his reflections on the role of the representation of the Indigenous body within a larger process of humanitarian education and political mobilization.

We have become accustomed to a history of photography that identifies the development of its technology with an effort to expand the "empire of the visible" and attributes to early photographers the belief that with more photographs there is more light, and the more we see is directly related to the more we know. The history of photography, however, is not as filled with confidence in light and vision as it appears. In the case of early humanitarian visual campaigns, there was not only a perpetual unraveling of photographic authority, but also a continued suspicion as to whether an image of distant suffering could mobilize public opinion. In other words, from the first decades of its invention, photography has triggered debates on the relations between the reproducibility and circulation of photographic images, ethical knowledge, and political action. Which images have the power of evidence? How can photographic images assign moral responsibility and mobilize the public to act politically? Can words help the public read images, and can images allow people to see what is only described in written testimonies?

In this chapter, I argue that Casement's photographs on the Putumayo and his remarks on the role of visual perception in his travel diaries and correspondence shed light on a crucial concept of visual evidence often eclipsed by typical narratives that focus on the drive of early

photographers to obtain empirical proof. More specifically, Casement's archives provide a unique perspective on the relationship between photographic technology and late nineteenth-century debates on the role of experience in the production of ethical knowledge. I suggest that while Casement's photographic archive reveals a search for visible traces of the crimes committed against the Indigenous populations—mostly scars on the bodies of Indigenous Huitoto and Bora men, women, and children—he also affirms that these traces are not visible to everyone. Instead, he suggests that in order to see the crime inscribed on the bodies and nature of the Putumayo, one has to look at them from a certain "point of view," a perspective determined by collective historical and political experiences.

As an Irishman, and victim of British imperialism, Casement thought himself to be in a privileged position to see the traces of otherwise unimaginable horrors. Perception and experience were entangled, creating a tension within Casement's own official mission: to write an objective account and gather evidence that could convict those accused of the atrocities in a court of law. Trying to come to terms with his ambiguous position as both colonizer and colonized, as both agent and critic of British imperialism, Casement developed an aesthetic and moral understanding of photographic evidence. To him, photography should not only show traces of an incontestable fact—the fact that a crime had been committed—but also teach the public how to see the (otherwise invisible) Indigenous body on which this violence was inscribed. The use of texts is crucial in Casement's pedagogy. But in contrast to da Cunha's ekphrastic inscription of the corpses of Canudos in a teleological narrative of the subject's disappearance, Casement's texts—diaries, annotations, captions, letters—are articulated with photographs in order to compel the viewer to imagine the bodies, lives, and cultures of Huitoto and Bora people beyond this specific context of violence that marked their bodies. Sometimes these texts resemble ethnographic texts, exploring the cultural idiosyncrasies of a group, and emphasizing their moral and even aesthetic value. Other times, they try to generalize one particular trace of violence, such as a scar, inserting it into a geopolitics of exploitation which has its roots in imperialism and capitalist exploitation, and for which different actors, including the public, have different levels of responsibility. The images, too, draw from this pool of genres. I argue that in his pedagogy of the gaze, Casement negotiates with various writing and photographic genres, from the ethnographic monograph to the travel diary, from the anthropometric to the

picturesque, from the humanitarian image of violence to the bourgeois portrait.

The most surprising of these is a series of hardly classifiable portraits showing Amazonian young men posing for the camera. Neither examples of the exploited Indigenous worker nor representatives of an ethnic group, they appear as individuals, posing in unidentifiable scenarios, often shirtless, bringing about the questions of beauty and attraction that both help and complicate our understanding of Casement's position and relation to the Amazonian people. While Casement's Black Diaries, a collection of private notes about diverse everyday matters, including his sexual encounters with men, have been the subject of several studies,[15] Casement's not so explicit photographic encounters have remained unstudied.[16] Although the focus of this chapter will be on the circulated images and texts intended for the public gaze, these portraits bring to the fore the relationship between point of view, the ability to be moved by an image, and desire.

INDEXICAL EVIDENCE

> I saw many men, and boys too, covered with scars, and often drew the attention of the others to this, but they were looking for themselves. Some of the men were deeply graved with the trade marks of Arana Bros, across their bare buttocks, and the upper thighs, and one little boy of ten was marked. I called Bishop and we both verified it, and I tried to photo him. (*The Amazon Journal*, 142)

Before departing for La Chorrera, the headquarters of the PAC, Casement spent two weeks in Iquitos, where he gathered evidence against the company, mainly testimonies from former Barbadian employees. Among these was Frederick Bishop, who, besides having served at several different rubber stations in the Putumayo, could also speak Spanish and "a 'bit' of Huitoto" (*The Amazon Journal*, 103). Bishop ended up joining the investigative commission as Casement's servant and interpreter. More than a servant, however, the Barbadian appears in the Irishman's diary as a second narrator, a character who punctuates Casement's observation of people and places with a story—usually retelling scenes of torture or murder that he had either witnessed or heard about.

In the case of Putumayo—as in other examples of accounts of atrocities, genocide, and torture—the witnesses are usually part of a historically persecuted group and are often identified as the "other," the moral negative of the social body to which the testimony is addressed. This explains why, although playing a crucial role in Casement's diary and in the Blue Book, which includes dozens of transcribed testimonies by other Barbadian men, Bishop's testimonies are constantly haunted by a problem of credibility: "It is evident that men of this class, some of them illiterate, all of humble calling, many demoralized by long years of savage indulgence, would sometimes be untruthful from fear or unworthy motive" (Casement, "Correspondence," 288). What provided the Barbadian testimonies with their truth value—the fact that they were provided by those who participated in the criminal events because they had no other option, because they themselves were survivors of the history of Atlantic slavery—was simultaneously what threatened to make their voice less credible.[17] In addition to conferring on them the status of semi-uncivilized and illiterate, Casement worried that their narratives suffered from a downside common to all testimonies of atrocities, namely, the passage of time, forgetting, and systematic obliteration.

Hence Casement's insistence that he must confirm the charges *in loco*, verifying the testimonies of the Barbadian men with "the evidence of our own eyes and senses" ("Correspondence," 216). However, Casement is advised by Bishop from the beginning of the trip that he will not be able to see any misdeeds. According to Bishop, when traveler "Captain Whiffen was in the Putumayo all his movements were known and wherever he was going things were 'cleared up' before he arrived" (*The Amazon Journal*, 98). In addition, the consul later finds out that there is no bureaucratic archive, no paper trail in the PAC. Casement refers both to the unaccounted payroll, accounting statements, bills, and contracts, and to the missing "photograph of all the female staff of the establishment, and then their names, capacities, salaries, and cost to the Company or surrounding Indian population given below each place" (*The Amazon Journal*, 193). For Casement, this lack of documentation is evidence of how the "cruelties and barbarities of the conquest of Peru" have not ceased with the "coming of the Republican form of government." In PAC-controlled territory, subjects are not united by a "common bond of citizenship" and their activities are not regulated by law (*The Amazon Journal*, 503).

The secrecy and invisibility encountered by Casement in the Putumayo region mirror those in other Latin American regions controlled

by global capitalist enterprises at the beginning of the twentieth century. As historian Kevin Coleman has argued in his work on the archives of the 1928 massacre of banana workers in Colombia, concealment was an integral part of "the mechanisms through which sovereign violence constituted a field of vision."[18] What one finds in imperialist enterprises like the PAC, in Peru, or the United Fruit Company, in Colombia, is the obliteration not only of human beings, but of the memory of their obliteration.[19] Faced with this absence of documentation, Casement concluded that the only evidence of any crime committed were the scars inscribed directly on the bodies of "workers": "The condition of these people was itself the best proof," says Casement, "of the truth and often of the singular accuracy of the Barbados men's declarations" ("Correspondence," 248)

Thus, as with antislavery and humanitarian campaigns elsewhere, Casement relied largely on the scars left on the bodies of the Indigenous peoples, produced by lashes and other instruments of torture.[20] In his Blue Book, Casement affirms that he inspected, at every rubber station, the "buttocks and thighs . . . of the many Indians encountered, and in the great majority of cases . . . the marks of the lash were more or less visible. Some of these marks were old, some quite recent, and in more than one case young men were brought to me with raw scars upon their hinder parts" ("Correspondence," 261–62). In his diaries, the consul consistently repeats the referential gesture of pointing to these singular marks of violence: "I saw," "I showed," "There were," "I photographed." In the absence of bookkeeping, the scars seemed the sole archive of the heinous crimes committed. Using a forensic gaze, Casement describes these indexical marks as raw or old, deep or shallow, in order to read the crimes inscribed in them: "It is proof of lawlessness, and of extreme lawlessness, for the marks are deep" (*The Amazon Journal*, 133). In *The Body in Pain*, Elaine Scarry calls "analogical verification" this recourse to the visible, material body, in discourses that aim to transform pain into a political argument.[21]

Notably, in his campaign to gather the support of the US government for the Putumayo case, Casement decided to mail Alfred Mitchell Innes at the British embassy in Washington a photograph of a Huitoto child, standing up, with his back turned to the camera and showing marks of flogging (figure 2.1). The authorship of this photo is contested. While it is stored at Casement's archive at the National Library of Ireland, the historian Jordan Goodman, who uncovered important correspondence between Casement and the British embassy in Washington,[22] suggests

Figure 2.1. "Young boy with his back to the camera, Putumayo region." Photograph by Roger Casement, c. 1900–1910. Roger Casement Photographic Collection, National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland. CAS26A. Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

that it was taken by PAC's English auditor Henry Gielgud. There are other photographs of scarred bodies in Casement's photographic archive, but it was this one that he chose to mail, in 1912, to Washington. In his letter, Casement asks Innes to show the photo to the president and describes the subject portrayed as "only one of the hundreds of vic-

tims . . ."[23] The photograph was subsequently forwarded to Henry Janes at the Division of Latin American Affairs in the US State Department and to the Foreign Office in London, with a request (which was denied) to be published with Casement's Blue Book (1912), his official report on his investigation of the atrocities in the Putumayo district.[24]

Although representative, the photographed child is singularly well suited to represent the innocent victim; he is not only a child but a thin, vulnerable one. One can see the young boy's bones as he stands still. In the background, a horizontal tree trunk crosses the image, at the exact height of the boy's scarred buttocks. The texture of the fallen tree, which serves as a bench for two men, and the horizontal lines of its bark mirror the texture of the boy's scars. These are the only horizontal elements of the image, which has four planes: at the front, the boy; then a tree stump on the left, followed by the trunk-bench where two men, possibly Barbadians, sit; and, lastly, the blurry forest, the unknown horizon to which the gaze of the boy—who is otherwise trapped between the photographer and the Barbadians—can escape. Taken from behind the boy, who crosses his arms in front of his body, the image has a rather geometrical composition (forming a cross) that ends up emphasizing the boy's tree-like verticality. He stands between the Barbadians and the photographer and hence, the spectator, but we do not know what he is gazing at. The stump on the left duplicates his legs. Also vertical are the two machetes that lie beside the Barbadians. The machetes used by Barbadians to cut their way through the forest were also, according to their testimonies, used to "flog" Indigenous rubber tappers.

Hence, more than just the subject photographed, what might have attracted Casement in this image is the way it frames the scars in the context of a system of forced labor. Regardless of Casement's own comments on the absence of modern law and a bureaucratic archive in the Putumayo, he insisted on pointing out the specificities of the law that the PAC inscribed and archived on the bodies of the natives. If he calls the scars the "mark of Arana," in a reference to Julio César Arana—the Peruvian who founded Casa Arana, the company that would later be registered as the Peruvian Amazon Company—it is because the bodies are treated as property, much like the trees that are tapped for rubber. Casement reads these marks in tandem with the words used by local rubber barons to explain their activities in the region, pointing out the local use of the term *conquistar* to refer to their method of gathering an Indigenous workforce: "An Indian tribe once 'conquered' becomes an extensive property of the successful assailant, and this lawless claim is recognized as a right over a widely extended

region" ("Correspondence," 254). If this is so, then the lashes, machetes, Winchesters, and *cepos* (leg stocks) were the instruments used by the "conquerors."

While describing the system of exploitation of rubber in the Putumayo, Casement explains that the people, rather than the trees, are the main object of the trader's quest:

> Rubber centers [were] situated in the heart of the forest—wherever, in fact Indians, and not necessarily rubber trees, were most numerous. The true attraction from the first to Colombian or Peruvian "caucheros," . . . was not so much the presence of the scattered *Hevea braziliensis* [*sic*] trees throughout this remote forest as the existence of fairly numerous tribes of docile, or at any rate of easily subdued Indians. ("Correspondence," 267)

In his diary, after the commission leaves the station to see rubber-gathering and returns without having seen a single rubber tree, Casement expresses his rage at the Englishmen's blindness to the obvious reality of the Putumayo: "The whites in the station did not care a damn where the trees were," he says, adding that it was evident that "the only system was one of sheer piracy and terrorization, and if you lifted the lash you stopped the supply of rubber" (*The Amazon Journal*, 150). Under this system of terror, the question is "which will be exhausted first, the Indians or the rubber trees" (*The Amazon Journal*, 167). The system of exploitation of both people and trees is, for Casement, inseparable, and shows the irrationality of the so-called rubber trade. Although Casement does not spend much time describing the natural environment in his diary, the wretched trees, as much as the Bora and Huitoto bodies, bear interrelated signs of violence, like the "branches and creepers they [starving Indians] had torn down in their search for food" ("Correspondence," 267). Casement's affirmation that the photograph of the scarred Huitoto child shows "only one of the hundreds of victims" is a way of including it in an archive of the "marks of Arana." This is a common strategy in humanitarian campaigns, which aim to make the singular, indexical trace—the scar and the photograph—generalizable, revealing a large-scale phenomenon. This mark of subjugation, of enslavement, is contrasted with the necklace worn by the child and with the forest, which is almost out of sight, but is still a powerful and unknown presence in the background.

As Michael Taussig has previously explored, Casement's search for objective proof of the PAC's crimes sought to remedy not only the suspicion of the stories told by the Barbadians, but also a lack of Indigenous testimonies, which Casement repeatedly explained by alluding to the fact that he lacked a good interpreter and his diplomatic position prohibited him from directly interrogating non-British subjects.[25] In their article about asylum seekers in contemporary France, the social scientists Didier Fassin and Estelle d'Halluin suggest a similar connection between the transformation of the body of the victim into "the place that displays the evidence of truth" and the need for an objective forensic evaluation to substitute for the narrative of the sufferer.[26] The photographs of scars in the Putumayo, taken one century earlier, also seem to fulfill a desire to have direct access to "truth" through a double inscription of the referent onto a surface: the lash's writing on the body and the body's inscription on the photographic film.[27]

However, one should not fall into the trap of interpreting Casement's photographs in terms of this opposition between testimony and visual trace, of subjective and objective. Although it seems reasonable to affirm that scars and photographs, and particularly photographs of scars, play an important role as objective evidence, as Casement tries to endorse the (too easily contestable) testimonies he collects with a detailed description of wrongdoings that he is unable to witness personally, a closer look at his photographic and written archives complicates such claims.[28] In his travel diaries, Casement repeatedly remarks that not everybody was capable of seeing such obvious marks of torture, much less to identify the crimes inscribed within these scars. Casement's concept of evidence not only contradicts a reading of the body of the other as an objective language of torture, it also emphasizes the viewer's position within this system of exploitation.

The photograph of the scarred Huitoto boy places the "incontrovertible scar" in the context of a complex system of exploitation in which the question of looking, as well as the photographer himself and the viewer, are implicated. The positioning of the boy between the Barbadians' machetes and the photographer relates to another photograph that Casement sent to the State Department in Washington, as part of an album of images and texts aimed at convincing the US government to put pressure on the Peruvian government to protect the Indigenous people in the Putumayo region[29] (figure 2.2). This photograph is a frontal portrait of a squalid man identified solely as "one of the [rubber station] Atenas Indians," where most Indigenous people have "been systematically

starved to death." In the text that accompanies the photograph sent to the State Department, Casement notes that the man's backside had been cut to pieces. As in many of these captions, as well as diary passages, he describes the moment in which the photograph was taken: he recounts that he had tried to photograph his scarred back, but the man got away from him, not without giving him an expression of anger and hate. "No wonder," Casement says, "I was another whiteman, another murderer, another enslaver, to him."[30] In the photograph of the scarred Huitoto boy, the child's upright body is constrained between the machete and the examining, albeit pious, gaze of the white photographer/viewer. As I will argue in the next section, it is this gaze, or these multiple gazes,

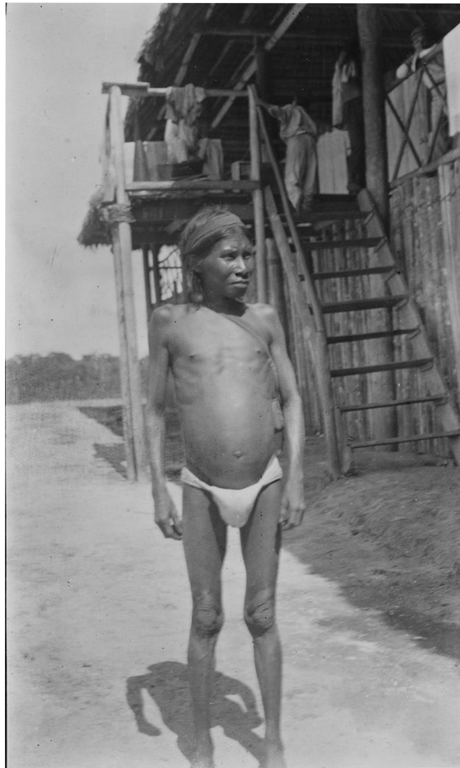


Figure 2.2. "Indigenous man from the rubber station Atenas." Photograph by Roger Casement, c. 1900–1910. Roger Casement Photographic Collection, National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland. CAS26A. Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

more than the evidence that stands before them, that occupy the center of Casement's textual and photographic production in the Putumayo. In Casement's politics of looking, not even his own gaze is as fixed and transparent as it might seem: his identity as a British subject and a "whiteman," but also as an Irishman and a humanitarian, affect in different, and sometimes contradictory ways his ability to see and act, as well as his relationship with the people he encounters.

POINT OF VIEW

Putumayo was not Casement's first contact with Amazonian populations. In 1908 he had been nominated British consul in Pará, a state in northern Brazil traversed by the lower Amazon River. After having worked in the "nasty" port city of Santos, in the state of São Paulo, and in Rio de Janeiro where, according to the consul, "every one looks a half-caste and a hybrid,"[31] uncivilized people pretending to be European, "saddened beyond endurance by the burden which they have assumed of exotic clothing to support the pose,"[32] Casement seemed happy to be among Amazonian people described by him as "having more of the 'native' in them—in colour, mien & manner—more affable, amiable and gentle . . . they are pleasing to look upon and agreeable to talk with."[33] He will later recognize similar characteristics in the Huitoto people he meets in the Putumayo: a passive gentleness that contrasts with the violence of the Peruvian rubber lords, as well as an authentic culture, still (almost) uncorrupted by Western cultural and economic imperialism.

Soon after arriving in Pará, Casement proposed to go on a journey up the Madeira River, a southern tributary of the Amazon, to "become acquainted with the conditions of commerce and industry in the fertile state of Amazonas, the center of the rubber production of the world."[34] Upon his return, Casement accused the Amazonian economy of "vegetable filibustering."[35] The consul remarked that the "rubber estates" had no clear delimitation, and suggested that the rights to the land in the Amazon had been acquired by force, resembling the usurpation of Indigenous lands in colonial times.[36]

Although the Iquitos-based newspapers *La Sanción* and *La Felpa* had published reports in 1907 accusing rubber traders in the Putumayo region of crimes against the Indigenous populations that exceeded by far the violence described by Casement in his 1908 report on the Brazilian rubber business, it was only in 1909, after the article in the London-

based magazine *Truth* came out, that the consul was informed of the Putumayo case. The activities in the Putumayo region had a special appeal to British public opinion. In 1907, the same year that Iquitos newspapers denounced the establishment of a regime of terror in the region, the rubber baron Julio Cesar Arana, owner of the Casa Arana, attracted British investment to his business and registered the company in England under the name Peruvian Amazon Rubber Co. The word "Rubber" was excluded from the name in 1908, in what might have been an attempt to dissociate the transnational company from the criminal records of the rubber trade.

The article that placed the PAC under scrutiny was based on testimony by Walter Hardenburg, who had traveled with his American colleague Walter Perkins to the Putumayo that same year, in the middle of the conflicts between Arana and the Colombian *caucheros* (rubber gatherers). Their trip, which began in Colombian territory, was part of a project to construct a railway that would link the Brazilian town of Madeira with Mamoré in Bolivia. The Americans, however, never reached their destination. While hosted in a Colombian rubber station, they witnessed an attack by the PAC's employees on the Colombian *caucheros* and ended up being detained by the Peruvian rubber traders and stripped of all their belongings. Although Hardenburg himself had only witnessed violent acts perpetrated by the PAC's employees against Colombian traders, he also reproduced detailed descriptions of the mistreatment of Indigenous subjects based on testimonies he collected in Iquitos, as well as on the articles published by the Iquitos-based investigative journalist Benjamin Saldaña Rocca in 1907.[37]

In the weeks following the publication of the *Truth* article, many British periodicals, such as the *Saturday Review*, *The Spectator*, *The Economist*, and *The Nation*, and magazines such as the *India Rubber Journal* and the *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend*, published texts on the Putumayo. Given the scandal involving a British-owned company and British men from Barbados, the British foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, was persuaded to send Sir Roger Casement as an independent representative to verify the truth of the stories of violence narrated by Hardenburg. The Irishman was already based in Latin America and had acquired credibility and support from the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society, from British public opinion, and more importantly, from the Foreign Office. Casement's travel in 1903 to the upper Congo to investigate stories of abuse related to the rubber trade there had played a crucial part in the British humanitarian—and

pro-free trade—campaign that helped change the Congo's situation, and culminated with its reannexation to Belgium in 1908.

Michael Taussig has defined Casement's Putumayo Blue Book as an "objectivist fiction," capable of turning the dramatic narrative published in the *Truth* article (as well as others that circulated at the time) into a credible document.[38] If this is so, Casement had been developing this style at least since his Congo mission. Government officials had praised Casement's Congo report for its dispassionate and unembellished style.[39] The report was an important asset in the British campaign against King Leopold's brutal regime in the Congo, a campaign that did not question the principles of colonial rule per se, but allowed the defense of a more humane, that is, British, version of Empire.

In the Putumayo case, however, British participation in the crimes was more intricate than in the Congo, for not only had the English shareholders failed to acknowledge what had been going on for years, while they profited from the forced labor of the natives, but, in addition, British subjects from Barbados, employed by the PAC to force Indigenous peoples into work, were themselves implicated in the atrocities as both victims and perpetrators. Thus, the Putumayo presented a valuable opportunity for Casement to denounce the violence of the so-called New Imperialism that commenced in the 1880s, and to connect the destruction of Amazonian Indigenous communities to the plight of all colonized peoples, including the Irish.[40]

Casement's dedication to the Irish cause and his resentment of British imperialism were certainly the source of numerous contradictions in his work as a British consul. On the one hand, he maintained a vehement criticism of Iberian colonialism in general, which, in contrast to the British version, "came not to till the soil, or possess it or found a great civilized people—but merely serves to grow individually rich on the forced labor of the Indians whom they captured and have held for centuries" (*The Amazon Journal*, 295). The "Black Legend" that demonized the Spanish Empire provided at the time a powerful ideological sanction for English involvement in the New World.[41] This position seems to prevail in Casement's official Putumayo report for the Foreign Office, which carries few traces of his discomfort with British imperialism—and this could hardly be otherwise, since the document was not only produced under the aegis of the Foreign Office but was edited by its personnel.

On the other hand, Casement keeps a separate document, his *Amazon Journal*, in which he adopts a slightly different position. The

opposition between a more "civilized" British Empire and a more "barbarian" Latin empire does not entirely disappear, but a new opposition, in which there is no room for a humane imperialism or even for any kind of legal economic exploitation of the Indigenous workforce, emerges. In some passages, the problem appears to be the failure of the Peruvian state to regulate the activities of a transnational corporation in the region. After narrating the murder of an Indigenous man, Casement asks: "where is the law and authority of Peru in this region that this British Company has asserted to be in supreme existence here?" (*The Amazon Journal*, 134). In other passages, Casement argues that Indigenous men and women would never "abandon their forest freedom voluntarily" to work for rubber if they had not been forced to do so, thus suggesting that all labor in the Amazon is necessarily imposed through violence (79). Moreover, in his diary Casement constantly distinguishes himself (as an Irishman) from his English counterparts (PAC representatives in the investigative commission), separating colonized from colonizers and implicating the British Empire in the oppression of both Amerindians and the Irish people.

In order to build this opposition, Casement frequently notes that the representatives of the PAC spoke "from the point of view of the self-interest of a trader—never from anything that could be termed a humanitarian or altruistic standpoint" (*The Amazon Journal*, 76). The consul repeatedly rages at his British colleagues' lack of empathy and their blindness, that is, at their inability to see what was very clear to him: that there was no industry and no labor in the Putumayo, only a system of slavery and extermination. That is why he feels the need to constantly correct their use of language: the Indigenous people are not employees, the "gifts" they receive are not payments, the contract with the Barbadian men has no validity, because neither Barbadians nor Huitotos and Boras have free will.

> They say in one breath it is slavery, and then that it is a "commercial transaction," that the Indian "owes" money to the Company. And this in face of all the lashes and scars, to say nothing of the murders, we have witnessed the last few days, or have been directly informed of. (*The Amazon Journal*, 176)

Faced with this shifting and imprecise language, the narrator of *The Amazon Journal* is constantly trying to convince the PAC's commis-

sioners to "fix" their "view" of things. Not in vain, Gielgud, the greatest example of English blindness given by the consul, is described as someone who is not necessarily evil, but weak and inconsistent: "This is very much the point of view of Gielgud, so far as I can gather, that he has any fixed point of view at all. His powers of observation are certainly not acute, and he cannot, so far as I can see, think very clearly" (*The Amazon Journal*, 176). Interestingly, Gielgud is the only other person who appears in Casement's diary carrying a camera. Even with camera in hand, he still cannot see what the narrator sees.

Just as words are unstable, so are the marks of violence inscribed on the bodies of Huitoto and Bora subjects. In his diary, Casement repeatedly stresses that even when faced with the most empirical "proof" of violence, the marks of lashes on naked bodies, his English colleagues cannot acknowledge them. Hence the constant need to point at these visible traces: "Indeed the two broad patches on one man's buttocks looked like burns. They were the scars of an extra deep cutting of the lashes. All of us saw them, but I broke silence, and said, at large, 'Two very incontrovertible burns, I must say'" (*The Amazon Journal*, 198). These images are exposed and yet they have to be made visible. They are not only, to use Didi-Huberman's words, snatched from the "real," but "from human thought in general, thought from 'outside.'"[42] For Casement, the empirical and the subjective, what goes on in and outside the human mind cannot be thought of separately, since perception is affected by moral and historical variables.

In his important study on social democracy and progressivism, the historian James Kloppenberg argues that some of the most important writers in Europe and the United States from 1870 to 1920 shared a belief that experience was at the root of questions of knowledge and moral responsibility. Kloppenberg studies how European and American political theorists ranging from Wilhelm Dilthey, Thomas Hill Green, and William James to John Dewey, and socialists like the Fabians Beatrice and Sidney Webb—who not only knew Casement, but also wrote a letter supporting him when he was tried for treason in Britain in 1916—defended the idea that knowledge "is an experienced relation of things,"[43] entangled in a web of social life, and is always subject to correction. Challenging both idealism and empiricism, their concepts of experience preceded the separation between subject and object.

Their emphasis on experience helps explain Roger Casement's affirmation that, before any empirical proof of a wrongdoing, there should be a predisposition to accept this truth:

> When I said to him at Manaos "Do, please, impress this point of view on the others" and he answered "But it is fact, not opinion we want," I had said "Yes, but much, very much depends on what point of view a man holds of this sort of thing. Facts fit in with it, or can be made to." (*The Amazon Journal*, 182–83)

Thus, Casement believed that, if based on experience, this point of view could change. Here, one can compare Casement to his contemporary, the American reformer and photographer Lewis Hine, who was known for his photographs of child labor and immigration. According to historian Alan Trachtenberg, Hine, who would later be identified as a founding figure of American "documentary photography," used his camera not only to produce evidence of inhuman exploitation, but "to teach an art of social seeing."[44]

Hine's aim had points in common with that of the British Anti-Slavery Society, with which Casement worked, even though Hine's work was located within the American national scope: to appeal to the consciousness of a liberal public opinion so that it would push for legal reform. Evidently, Casement did not have the same experience or dedication to photography as Hine, nor did he develop an aesthetic theory of humanitarian photography. Still, the Irish consul's conception of the ability to see the suffering of others as something learned does parallel Hine's "concern with the process of seeing within the larger process of social 'betterment'" (Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, 192). The context of imperialism and Casement's concept of seeing as "point of view," however, have different implications, especially when considered in relation to Casement's involvement in the Irish nationalist movement.

In the quest to foster a critique of the transatlantic rubber industry, "point of view" emerges as both a spatial and historical concept, referring to the geopolitical location from which one sees and speaks. It was from the point of view of a colonized Irish subject that Casement was able to see what the British could not. In a passage from a letter he sent in April 1907 to his historian friend Alice Stopford Green, Casement affirmed that while in the Congo, he had realized that his knowledge of Irish history helped him to understand what was going on there: "I knew the Foreign Office would not understand the thing, for I realized that I was looking at this tragedy with the eyes of another race of people once hunted themselves."[45]

This passage, frequently cited by scholars to demonstrate the connection between Casement's Irish nationalism and his work in the Congo and Putumayo, also reveals the importance of "looking" for Casement's conception of knowledge, or "understanding." The question is: How, based on his privileged (or rather unprivileged) point of view, could Casement work to teach the European colonizers to see the bodies of the colonized as human bodies, Indigenous people as subjects of rights, and Huitotos and Boras as victims of unjust treatment?

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC GAZE

Despite his own depiction of Putumayo as a hellish space, Casement was aware that descriptions of the region as barbarous or uncivilized constituted duplicity in legitimizing the use of force to convert its "savage" populations into civilized "laborers." For example, Rafael Reyes, the president of Colombia between 1904 and 1909 (whom Casement cites frequently), affirmed in 1874 that his pioneer voyage to the Putumayo[46] had brought "hundreds of steamers carrying industry and civilization to the virgin forests where cannibals formerly wandered."[47] Similar discourses relating the savagery of the jungle to the cannibalism of its inhabitants are seen in the PAC's propaganda to protect its monopoly and defend its activities in the region. In a letter from December 1909, archived with Casement's papers at the National Library of Ireland, the rubber baron César Arana defends himself from the accusations published in *Truth*, asserting that some of the PAC's employees "were sacrificed at the cannibal feasts of certain tribes."[48] The British consul not only underlines this passage, but ironically notes, in its margin: "How naughty!" Casement thought, even before entering the Putumayo region, that his pedagogical work consisted in defending the humanity, innocence, and even docility of the Indigenous population, as well as convincing public opinion of the barbarity of "'civilized' intruders" ("Correspondence," 227).

This task seemed to be an especially difficult one in the supposedly "lawless" Putumayo—a border region, disputed by two nations and, according to Casement, ruled by none. Collecting evidence of the maltreatment of the local population was as important as controlling the narrative that explained it. This is obvious, for example, in one of the iconic images of the horrors of the Putumayo, the photograph of a squalid dead body, which was published in Hardenburg's book *The Putumayo: The Devil's Paradise* (1912).[49] The image had been circulated

in previous years by both Peruvians and Colombians as a proof of the other's crimes (figure 2.3).

In her discussion of images of pain, Susan Sontag gives several examples of how those on different sides of violent conflicts exploit the volatility of photographic images, reminding us that an image that evokes pain and death is not necessarily capable of attributing political responsibility.[50] Both the manager of the PAC, Julio César Arana, and his accusers, such as Hardenburg, seem to have believed in the importance of controlling this instability of photographs to mobilize public opinion. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Arana commissioned different photographers and filmmakers to portray the peaceful harmony between "Whites" and "Indians" in the region controlled by his company, including the Portuguese documentary filmmaker Silvino Santos, the Spanish photographer Manuel Rodriguez Lira, and the Frenchman Eugène Robuchon. The fate of Robuchon's papers—which were partly recovered after the explorer disappeared in the jungle—is a revealing example of how the Putumayo spurred a war of images.[51] Some accused Arana of having killed the ethnologist after he photographed floggings of Indigenous rubber tappers. The Peruvian rubber baron,

Figure 2.3. "An incident of the Putumayo: Indian woman condemned to death by hunger on the Upper Putumayo." Photographer unknown, n.d. Reproduced from Walter E. Hardenburg, *The Putumayo: The Devil's Paradise: Travels in the Peruvian Amazon Region and an Account of the Atrocities Committed upon the Indians Therein*, edited by Reginald Enock (London: T. F. Unwin, 1912), 52.

however, accused an Indigenous group of the killing and supported the publication of Robuchon's found photographs in a book that stressed the civilizing role played by the PAC.[52] In one of Robuchon's published photographs, for example, Indigenous women dressed in western clothes are portrayed as workers (figure 2.4). Taken from a low angle, the photograph edifies and elevates the workers, emphasizing the gesture of building. They are, as the caption explains, carrying construction materials to build the civilized, productive space that we see in the background.

The civilized Indigenous workers portrayed by Robuchon contrast with photographs of "savage" Indigenous subjects that circulated at the time. In one of these images—a montage—a decapitated head appears among Indigenous children, insinuating a cannibal feast. In his diary, Casement noted frequently how the PAC used cannibalism as part of the propaganda to protect its monopoly in the region. In the context of the Putumayo image war, if public opinion was to be mobilized, it was necessary to strictly identify both perpetrator and victim, to properly attribute responsibility.

Figure 2.4. "Chorrera: Cargando materiales de construcción" ("Chorrerra: Carrying construction materials"). Photograph by Eugène Robuchon, n.d. Reproduced from Eugène Robuchon, *En el Putumayo y sus afluentes* (Lima: Imprenta La industria, 1907), 35.

This explains why Casement constantly tries to discriminate between false and true images by describing characters and their physiognomic traits, judging intentions and "hearts," and identifying culprits or levels of culpability. Everyone's position in this system of exploitation must be determined, including his own. Casement reminds himself of his own responsibility in the enslavement of the Huitotos and Boras when he realizes that his clothes are being washed by unpaid women or that the house where he stays is the product of Indigenous forced labor:

> I said that it was all very well for Tizon to say I was his guest, or the Company's guest, I was really the wretched Indians' guest. They paid for all. The food we eat, and the wine we drank, the houses we dwelt in, and the launch that conveys us up river—all came from their emaciated and half-starved, and well flagellated bodies. (*The Amazon Journal*, 161–62)

This gesture of recognizing his own role in the multilayered, racialized, and gendered exploitation of Indigenous work is also what differentiated Casement from the other commissioners. The Irishman usually describes the culpability of the Englishmen as being based on blindness, omission, and greediness. The PAC's English shareholders ignored the accusations that had been circulating in the press against their own company, and in the meantime they profited from the Indigenous people's work. They averted their gaze because they had an interest in doing so. This strategic characterization of the Englishmen as blind and selfish, not cruel, could more easily be extended to the public addressed by Casement's images and texts, thus constituting political action to stop the exploitation of Indigenous work as a moral obligation. As the sociologist Luc Boltanski has argued, connection through omission enables the consolidation of distant responsibility with the public: "the most distant spectator continues to draw a personal or collective profit from the suffering of the unfortunate to the extent that he is a member of a nation whose collective wealth is the result of the exploitation of poor nations."[53]

Then there were the local agents. The Barbadians had been participants in past crimes, but they were also themselves victims, obligated by the debt-peonage system and the use of force to flog and even murder Putumayo people. Their guilt is further expiated by their testimony: they are the brave men who "testified as to the deeds they had witnessed, the illegal acts they had themselves performed under orders of

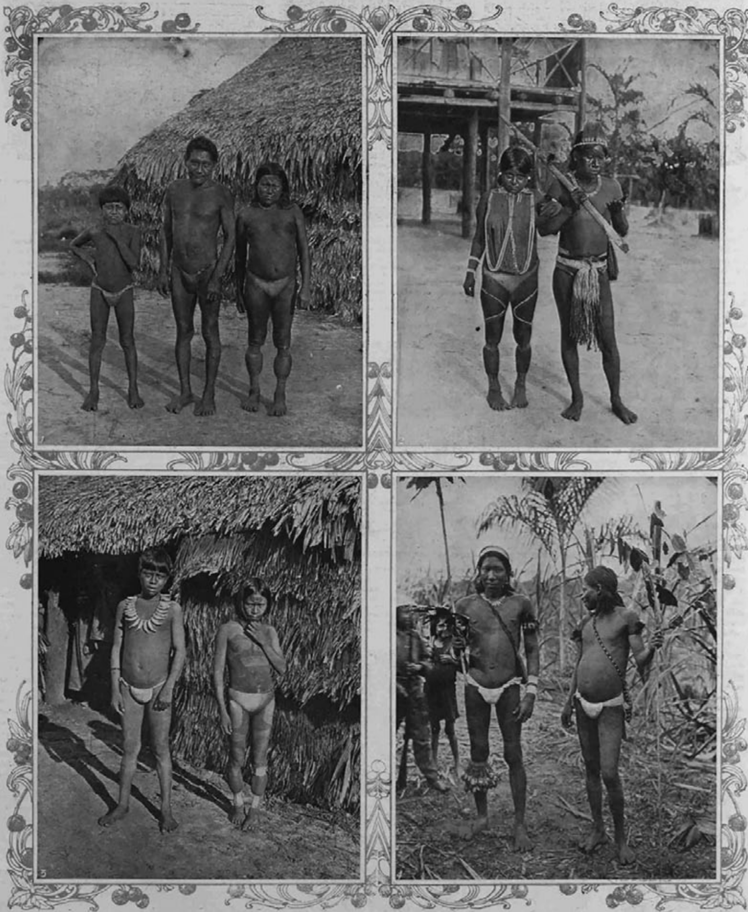
their Chiefs of Section, and the character of the system of 'trade' they were put to enforce over the Indians" (*The Amazon Journal*, 125). The "real criminals" are the Peruvian rubber barons who forced their employees to commit brutal acts against the local Indigenous communities, or the ambiguously defined "supreme agents or heads who directed this system of wrong-doing, and enslavement of the Indians, and drew their profit from it" (126, 128). Even among the PAC's Peruvian managers, however, there were different levels of monstrosity, the worst of them being Normand—the manager of the last station Casement visited—who is described as a "sickly, pale, lame youth, flushing easily, with a washed out skin and a profile and nose like Lefroy, the murderer of my boyhood" (197). On the opposite side of the spectrum are the true victims: the "docile Indians."

Comparing himself to Sherlock Holmes, the famous detective created by his friend Arthur Conan Doyle (*The Amazon Journal*, 192), Casement both produces visible evidence of the crimes committed in the PAC-controlled region and constantly analyzes people's reactions to the things seen as a form of evidence of their implication in such crimes. It is in this context that he criticizes the English commissioner Gielgud for taking photographs that are nothing more than clichés: "The Commission are now 'inspecting' outside, and Gielgud taking happy snapshots of interesting natives with painted faces and sticks in their noses" (193). Despite this comment, Casement himself took dozens of what could be called "happy snapshots of interesting natives." In 1912, after the publication of the Blue Book, some of these images appeared in a few newspapers (though no authorship was attributed), including the *Daily Mirror* and the *Illustrated London News*. In the *Illustrated London News*, images of "natives" were accompanied by quotations from Casement's report (figure 2.5). One photo shows, according to the caption, a Huitoto chief and his wife "dressed for a dance."[54] Instead of photos of scarred or underfed Huitotos, we see images of "ethnographic interest," portraying men and women in typical costumes and ritual situations.

Casement would frequently take several shots of the same subject from different angles. One of these subjects is the "man holding a spear" (figure 2.6). As with ethnographic photographs seeking to give a detailed picture of a figure in ritual garment, his full body is located at the center of the frame. The man looks directly into the camera and poses against palm leaves that occupy the upper third of the image, adorning his head as a kind of headdress. On his right is the image of an-

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, July 20, 1912.—101

30,000 LIVES: 4000 TONS OF RUBBER: THE PUTUMAYO REVELATIONS.



1. AKIN TO THE THOUSANDS TORTURED AND KILLED BY RUBBER-SEEKERS: A NATIVE BOY, MAN, AND WOMAN OF THE PUTUMAYO DISTRICT—THE LAST NAMED WITH PALM-FIBRE LEG "BINDINGS."

3. OF THE NEW "RED RUBBER" LAND: A NATIVE BOY AND GIRL.

2. DRESSED FOR A DANCE: A HUITOTO CHIEF AND HIS WIFE—DWELLERS IN THE RUBBER DISTRICT CONCERNING METHODS IN WHICH SIR ROGER CASEMENT REPORTS.

4. "A MILD AND INOFFENSIVE PEOPLE": HUITOTOS MEN OF THE PUTUMAYO DISTRICT.

Astounding revelations are contained in a Blue Book just published: "Correspondence Respecting the Treatment of British Colonial Subjects and Native Indians Employed in the Collection of Rubber in the Putumayo District." The official title suggests not at all the remarkable matter it heads. Indeed, the Report, which is by Sir Roger Casement, records horrors before which the Red Rubber accusations made during the late King Leopold's *régime* in the Congo seem almost trifling! The region termed "the Putumayo," consisting principally of the area drained by two tributaries of the Iça or Putumayo River, the Igaraparaná and the Caraparaná, lies far from the main stream of the Amazon. A list is given of "Names of Some of the Worst Criminals on the Putumayo, all of them charged with Atrocious Offences against the Indians," and another of "Subordinate Agents of the Company equally charged with Atrocious Crimes." The following passage may be quoted: "The number of Indians killed either by starvation—often purposely brought about by destruction of crops over whole districts . . . or by deliberate murder by bullet, fire, beheading or flogging to death, and accompanied by a variety of atrocious tortures, during the course of these twelve years [1900–1911], in order to extort these 4000 tons of rubber, cannot have been less than 30,000, and possibly came to many more." The yield of indiarubber to which this reference is made was "from the Putumayo Indians, shipped to England through the Iquitos Custom House." It should be noted that the majority of the native women are unclothed: the photographs have been touched-up by us.

Figure 2.5. "30,000 Lives; 4,000 Tons of Rubber: The Putumayo Revelations." *Illustrated London News*, July 20, 1912, p. 101. Copyright © The British Library Board.

other man who also seems to be dressed in a typical garment, but who is looking in a different direction (maybe at Gielgud's camera?). This man is partially cut out of the picture. On his left side, children seem to accidentally leak into the frame. One of them, dressed in western clothes, watches (like us) the Huitoto men, while the other, in uniform, glances at the photographer. The two sides of the photo-ethnographic encounter become visible through their eyes. At the same time, the ideal ethnographic object is somehow contaminated. The "civilizing role" of the company is included in the frame through the contrast between the boys and the men.

Another photograph of the same encounter is published in the *Illustrated London News* (figure 2.7). It seems like a photograph made after (or before) the pose. Now, the Huitoto man does not occupy the center of the image. The man on his right turns his body to look at the children, who gaze back at him. But more importantly, we can now see that the same boy in uniform from the other photograph is carrying a gun. He is probably one of the *muchachos*, the young boys kidnapped and trained to serve the PAC, or, in Casement's words, "armed and exercised in murdering their own unfortunate countrymen. Boras murdering Huitotos and vice versa for the pleasure, or supposed profit, of their masters" (*The Amazon Journal*, 136). Seen together, these images create a tension in the ethnographic, or, more broadly, the colonial encounter. When explaining the role of the *muchachos*, Casement concludes: "this is called 'civilising' the wild savage Indians!" (136).

In addition to framing the contrast between the ideal native and the *muchacho*, this photograph also foregrounds why it was so important to establish the culpability of the "civilizer" in the horrors of the Putumayo. By employing these young boys in the atrocities, the PAC made the system of labor exploitation even more perverse and confusing. Are these boys murderers or victims, Casement asks (*The Amazon Journal*, 134). Casement's ethnographic interest in part answers this question. In his quasi-ethnographic paper "The Putumayo Indians," published in 1912 in *The Contemporary Review*, he presents a defense of the Indigenous communities of the region, portraying them as morally superior, averse "to bloodshed" ("The Putumayo Indians," 320), "notably intelligent" (323), "chaste and exceedingly modest" (325), and "socialist by temperament, habit, and possibly, age-long memory of Inca and pre-Inca precept" (322).[55] This defense is a response, on the one hand, to the long-standing representation of the Putumayo Indigenous peo-

Figure 2.6. "Man holding a spear, surrounded by onlookers." Photograph by Roger Casement, c. 1900–1910. Roger Casement Photographic Collection, National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland. CAS18C. Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

Figure 2.7. "'A mild and inoffensive people': Huitotos men of the Putumayo district." Detail from "30,000 Lives; 4,000 Tons of Rubber: The Putumayo Revelations." *Illustrated London News*, July 20, 1912, p. 101. Copyright © The British Library Board.

ple as dangerous cannibals, an allegation that justified the "civilising" presence of the PAC in the region. On the other hand, Casement's ethnographic representation of the Bora and Huitoto also contributes to positing a moral opposition. Contrary to the Peruvians, the Amazonian Indigenous peoples were averse to bloodshed. But also, contrary to the British and other imperialist nations (and thus maybe to the reading

public), they "had no desire to enrich [themselves] at the expense of [their] neighbor" (322).

It was also through ethnography that Casement built a transatlantic geography and history of colonialism, slavery, and environmental degradation, within which he sided with the colonized. Later, he would refer to the Irish peasants of Connemara as "white Indians." This expression appeared in a letter Casement sent to the *Irish Independent* on May 20, 1913, in response to the newspaper's coverage of an epidemic of typhoid and typhus in the region, which Casement called the "Irish Putumayo."[56] He also compared, in a text written in 1911, soon after his Putumayo trip, the debt-peonage system used in Latin America with the Ireland–England relationship:

> The hacendado holds the peon by a debt bondage. His palace in Mexico City, or on the sisal plains of Yucatan, is reared on the stolen labor, whose bondage is based on a lie. The hacendado keeps the books and debits the slave with the cost of the lash that scourges him into the fields. Ireland is the British peon, the great peon of the British Empire.[57]

This ethnographic portrayal of the Indigenous Putumayo peoples helps to frame the violent *muchacho* as a result of capitalist modernity's "civilizing" mission. Although they are naturally averse to bloodshed, colonial oppression has despoiled them of these natural characteristics. Instead of progress, civilization has brought about destruction and moral degradation. However, the *muchacho* is not only a corrupted version of the "noble Indian." Once asked about a *muchacho* he had "photoed," learning afterwards that he had "killed plenty of men," Casement asked: "when later on he 'revolts,' who will kill him?" (*The Amazon Journal*, 136). Portraying the *muchachos* through the lenses of the Irish cause, Casement brings up a different, rebellious, temporality. We do not have to know that Casement was executed for treason in 1916 for trying to provide arms to the Irish rebels, in order to understand his views on a legitimate, rebellious, use of violence. He makes this clear in a description of a conversation with O'Donnell, a rubber station chief who showed him on a map where some Huitotos had set fire to Colombian houses, and the "last risings" against his authority had taken place: "I only said 'more power to the Indians' but as he is not an Irishman, in spite of his name, he did not follow" (229).

COLONIAL ICONOGRAPHY

> I never saw gentler faces, or more agreeable expressions on any faces than on those of the two young men in their truly extraordinary garb. I shall get Arédomi painted and clothed in it at home, and have him photographed and presented to Dilke and the Anti-Slavery people at a great meeting! That will be an idea to enlist sympathy. (*The Amazon Journal*, 449–50)

Alongside the ethnographic arguments in favor of the Amazonian people, which should appeal to the public's intellect, Casement also fell back on European artistic iconography to appeal to the viewers' aesthetic sensibilities. More than suffering or potentially rebellious bodies, beautiful figures should be used to provoke humane sentiments and disinterested support from British public opinion. This is why Casement decided to take two young Huitoto men, Omarino and Ricudo, alias Arédomi, to England, where they were photographed, depicted in painted portraits, and exhibited in social events, including meetings in the Foreign Office and with the Anti-Slavery Society.

Lesley Wylie, who identified two photographs of Omarino and Ricudo at the Cambridge University archive and published the first thorough study of their stay in London, argues that Casement's exhibition of these young men reveals his complicity with "what Timothy Mitchell has called the 'machinery of representation' dominant in European imaginings of its racial and cultural Others."[58] In fact, it is reasonable to affirm that Casement's practices and discourses were embedded in the colonial tradition, as is evident in his infantilization of the Indigenous young men, whom he portrays as docile and obedient, and as needing the patronage of a European man. The exhibition of "native specimens" in Europe was not an uncommon colonial practice,[59] and Casement's own methods of "acquiring the natives"—Omarino was "bought" with "a shirt and a pair of trousers" (*The Amazon Journal*, 340), and Ricudo, a married nineteen-year-old, was won at cards—are revealing of a complicity with the colonialism he criticized. Casement's plain affirmation that he "bought" Omarino and Ricudo, however, is not without an ironic awareness of the commodification of the Indigenous bodies that he so vehemently criticized: "It is really buying the freedom of a slave," Casement says, adding that his intention "is that by getting some of these unknown Indians to Europe I may get powerful people interested

in them and so in the fate of the whole race out here in the toils" (342). My main aim here is not to confirm or contest Casement's (not so) hidden complicities with imperialist practices and traditions, but rather to examine how the circulation, exhibition, and portrayal of Omarino's and Ricudo's bodies were one more among the numerous facets of Casement's concept of evidence.

Notably, the trajectory of Casement's interest in Omarino begins with a photographic encounter:

> I sent to the store for a case of salmon and distributed tins galore to men, women, boys and mites . . . They clicked their tongues and lips with joy poor souls and I photo'd a good many of them. They are nice bright-looking people—and I picked one dear little chap out and asked if he would come with me. He clasped both my hands, backed up to me and cuddled between my legs and said "yes." (*The Amazon Journal*, 340)

Casement could not only see, as an Irishman, that the Huitoto were victims of British imperialism, he also seemed especially sensitive to the formal qualities of their bodies. This is especially the case in his encounter with Ricudo, which also begins with an image:

> I bathed in afternoon and a boy or young man came and sat on the bank . . . This young man is a *muchacho* of Sur and I had photo'd him along with others as they brought rubber in. I had noticed him looking at me with a sort of steadfast shyness and as I gave him and others salmon his face flushed. He now came and eyed me in the same way and when I came out from my swim he followed me up to the house and begged me to take him away with me . . . He is a fine youth, quite strong and shapely with a true Indian face. (*The Amazon Journal*, 341)

In both the affectionate cuddle with Omarino and the erotic bathing scene with Ricudo, photography mediates Casement's awareness of the aesthetic qualities of the subjects he photographed, as well as his bodily interaction with them. He reveals that upon seeing Ricudo he immediately thought that he "would make a fine type for Herbert Ward," a sculptor Casement had met in the Congo who had made statues of

Congolese chiefs (*The Amazon Journal*, 342). Ricudo seemed to translate the ideal aesthetic of the Amazonian "type": "He has the fine, long strong hair of the Indians, the cartilage of the nose and the nostrils bored for twigs and a handsome face and shapely body . . . a splendid shape of bronze" (342).

Casement's attraction transcended the individual sphere: he could see Ricudo's beautiful shape of bronze and wanted to teach others to see the same. Hence, his idea to "enlist Ward (and France) on the side of these poor Indians and to do it through their artistic sense" (*The Amazon Journal*, 342). But instead of taking the Huitotos to Ward, Casement took "these splendid bodies" to have them painted by William Rothenstein, whom Casement met through the antislavery campaigner E. D. Morel. In the unfinished painting, the Huitoto young men appear in traditional clothing, standing against a flat landscape.[60] As Wylie has noted, Ricudo, the older one, wears the same necklace that Casement had photographed him with before (figure 2.8). While Casement's photograph attempts to simulate Ricudo's natural habitat by portraying him in typical clothes and locating him in the woods, Rothenstein, who was an important link between avant-garde artists in London and Paris in the 1890s, paints the young men removed from any semblance of the Amazonian landscape.[61] Similarly to how he paints portraits of European figures of the time, Omarino and Ricudo appear detached from an impressionist background. Rothenstein emphasizes what, according to him, made the Huitotos "rare models," namely, their colors: "their bodies were a rich golden color, and their dress simple—but a few brilliant feathers strung together."[62]

While sitting at Rothenstein's studio, Omarino and Ricudo were interviewed by the *Daily News*. Meeting at Rothenstein's studio was convenient. The journalist could describe how he "found them in native dress" and appreciate "their brown bodies."[63] Hence, the "interview" already contained in itself Rothenstein's painting of the Huitoto boys.[64] Through painting, photography, and writing, the image of Ricudo with his "necklace of tiger teeth" (more likely of jaguar teeth) envisioned by Casement was being reproduced and circulated.

While Rothenstein's painting would appeal to the aesthetic sense and artistic taste of the public, the two Huitotos were subjected, in another studio, to an ethnographic photo shoot. This time, the young men were stripped of all props. The photographer John Thomson, seen today as a founder of the documentary tradition for his series of photographs of London's street life, took front and profile portraits of Omarino and

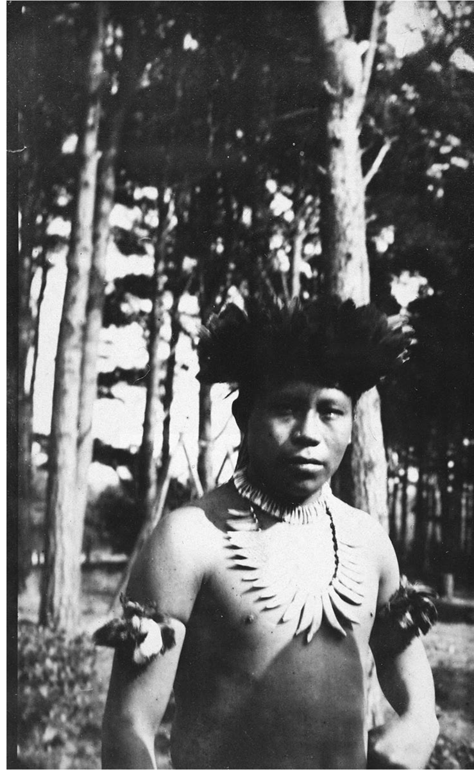


Figure 2.8. "Ricudo in the woods." Photograph by Roger Casement, c. 1900–1910. Roger Casement Photographic Collection, National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland. CAS23D1. Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

Ricudo against a plain backdrop, as prescribed by the globally distributed anthropometric photography systems of the time (figures 2.9 and 2.10).[65] Instead of presenting a picturesque image of the Indigenous body, anthropometric photography involved the use of a strict methodology that aimed to create homogeneous surfaces, in a project of assimilating bodies as data in a vast system of comparison. In addition to putting forward a racial classification and a physiological vision of culture, such archives also stemmed from a desire for completeness: the mapping of all human types and cultures. This was the era of "salvage anthropology"[66] among ethnographers, who felt that their subjects were rapidly disappearing from the globe as a result of the expansion of civilization, and photography was a way of preserving "difference."

Figure 2.9. “Omarino and Ricudo (front).” Photograph by John Thompson, c. 1911. Mounted Haddon Collection. P 9301.ACH1. Reproduced by permission of University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology.

Figure 2.10. “Omarino and Ricudo (profile).” Photograph by John Thompson, c. 1911. Mounted Haddon Collection. P 9032.ACH1. Reproduced by permission of University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology.

In his travels through Ireland, Casement had also manifested an ethnographic interest in the recollection and preservation of colonized cultures. In the case of the Putumayo, this anthropological impulse toward preservation was more evidently influenced by racial theories of the time. Although not in a systematic way, Casement frequently criticized the Peruvian "halfbreeds" who were, according to him, morally inferior to "pure" "Blacks" and "Indians." In his notes for Casement's *Amazon Journal*, Mitchell suggests that his antithetical physical descriptions of evil—monstrous perpetrators and timid victims—were influenced by Cesare Lombroso's studies of physical traits of criminality (*The Amazon Journal*, 134). Anthropology and scientific racial theories formed, in more than one way, a privileged discursive and iconographic field that combined debates on the negative effects of colonialism, the desire to save non-Western peoples from extinction, and a "scientifically" based defense of the "pure" races.

Instead of scarred bodies, Omarino and Ricudo were introduced as representatives of a threatened human race and as the mirror against which civilization could see its own flaws. However, admitting that the world of Putumayo seemed to have no way to return to its idyllic past, and civilization seemed to be unavoidable, Casement's plan for these men was to provide them with the "better" side of civilization. Once they returned to Peru, Casement left the two men in the care of the British consul in Iquitos, where, despite Casement's previous affirmations that any labor would be, for the Amazonian Indigenous people, forced labor, they could be "useful." On September 1912, the consul's wife wrote to Casement to say that Ricudo "hated work" and had told her that he "must go away to the woods."[67] Like the child in Casement's photograph of scars, trapped between the pious gaze of the photographer and torturers armed with machetes—each proposing a different kind of future for the Indigenous body—the forest was still the horizon into which the Huitotos could escape the imposition of labor.

PORTRAITS AND AFFECT

Casement's public campaign was mostly aimed at convincing public opinion and a network of reformists, humanitarians, philanthropists, religious authorities, and statesmen to pressure national governments (US, British, and/or Peruvian) to protect the Putumayo Indigenous peoples, as well as to restrain the activities of the Peruvian Amazon Com-

pany, and hold its managers accountable for their crimes. Although Casement eventually recognized a rebellious potential among the Putumayo Indigenous peoples, these instances were rare and subtle. In contrast, Casement affirmed several times that the Indigenous peoples were helpless, docile, childlike, in need of protection: "If ever there was a helpless people on the face of this earth it is these naked forest savages, mere grown up children. Their very arms show the bloodlessness of their timid minds and gentle characters" (*The Amazon Journal*, 124). In the Amazon rainforest, far from any jurisdiction of the Peruvian state, Casement believed they would continue to be easy prey for the rubber industry. Given his mistrust of the promises and procedures of the Peruvian governmental and juridical apparatus, he argued that it was only under the vigilant, caring gaze of well-intentioned international actors that the situation could be mitigated.

Casement made a particular effort to lobby the US government, while keeping in close contact with the British embassy in Washington. In 1912, he heard from an informant in the embassy that, for strategic reasons, the United States was withdrawing from pressuring the government of Peru on the Putumayo affair. As the historian Jordan Goodman first uncovered, Casement responded to this news by sending a series of photographs, including Ricudo's portrait (figure 2.8), and handwritten notes to Washington in the hope that they would convince the North Americans to pressure the Peruvian government. The entire collection, held today at the US National Archives, is a remarkable example of the importance of the articulation of photographs and texts in Casement's pedagogy of the gaze.

In an article published in 2010, Goodman reproduces a series of these photos and text passages from Casement's mail.[68] In a brief introductory text, the historian suggests that these images are neither atrocity nor ethnographic photographs, but "images meant to convey the meaning of what it means to be human, or, to put it another way, what humanity is."[69] This, according to Goodman, would be confirmed by the text accompanying each photograph, which juxtaposes the meanings of humanity and inhumanity. Goodman does not explain what exactly this means—what the formal strategies are that would make an image convey the meaning of humanity or how image and text are combined in order to do so. Still, his framework is suggestive. Casement's pedagogy of the gaze aimed at teaching the viewer to see Indigenous bodies in a complex, multifaceted way. However, I contend that he did this by drawing from the ethnographic and/or atrocity genres, not by negating them.

The photographic series includes, for example, a photograph of an emaciated woman and her two children. In his notes, Casement says that the woman "has been so worked without food that her limbs have shrunk. The boy, too, is unusually thin—I saw far worse specimens than these."[70] Similarly to other visual narratives of atrocity, while the body of an individual victim is presented as proof of the violence inflicted on her, the victim's condition must be generalized, or framed as one case among others. Casement, then, adds that the people in the photo's background are Indigenous people, "mostly women, brought in from the forest for a 'Dance.'" This gesture of framing the emaciated woman and children against the ethnographic spectacle organized by the PAC managers to appease the British commissioners goes along with the politics of looking in Casement's diaries, in which the visibility of the marks of exploitation is under constant threat. Instead of negating the knowledge value of the ethnographic image, however, Casement's pedagogy of the gaze embraces it. In a sequence of three front-and-back portraits of women "beaded and adorned for the dance," Casement highlights "the pattern of the dyed, or stained ornamentation the Indians delight in—and renew on every occasion of public or private gatherings."[71]

As I have argued throughout this chapter, it is the combination of different photographic and writing genres familiar to the public that constitutes Casement's pedagogical effort to teach the British and North American political elites how to see the humanity of the bodies scarred by the rubber trade.

The Washington series is, in fact, diverse, and includes most of the topics photographed by Casement: from photographs of emaciated and scarred bodies to images of adorned Huitotos preparing for rituals, from portraits of workers carrying heavy loads of rubber to individual and family portraits. Photographing before the advent of modern photography (and before the culture of the snapshot), Casement resorts to photographic elements like pose, adornment, and point of view (the position of the camera) in order to position himself in relation to his different subjects, whether they are ideal "natives," scarred victims, armed *muchachos*, or beautiful bodies.

Similarly, Casement's texts draw from different traditions. Along with a single portrait of a Huitoto man (figure 2.11), for example, Casement writes:

> THE LAST OF HIS TRIBE
> A Huitoto boy at La Chorrera is the sole survivor of one of the clans. This lad was about 19 years old + did carpenter-

ing work around the station. He was a great swimmer—all the Indian men, women + children swim like fish and their skins are extraordinarily clean and sweet. They rarely perspire even under enormous weights—and there is no odour from the skin. They are singularly cleanly in their persons and habits. [written in the margins] and I would add in their minds until debased + corrupted by the "blancos" + "mestizos" of Peru or Columbia.

I have never met in Africa any primitive people (save perhaps the West Coast Kruboy) so clean. The Indian skin is of a delightful hue—a warm rich golden yellow or bronze in the majority of cases—while the hair is of quite remarkable luxuriance—straight, shining and purple black.[72]

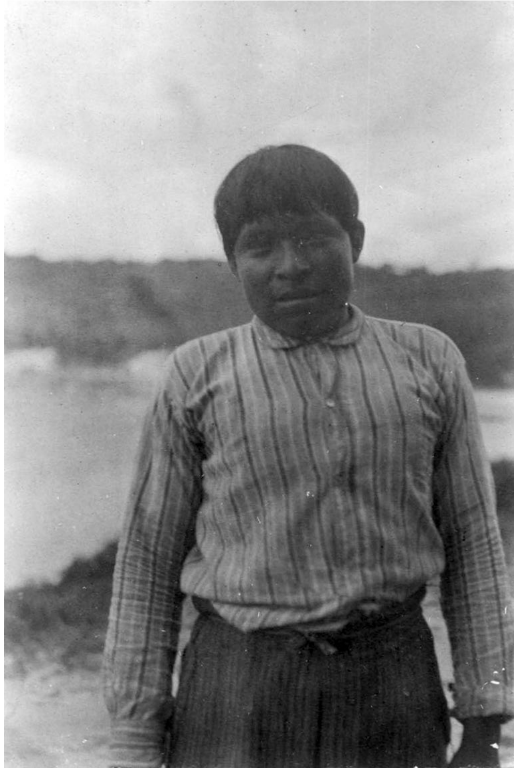
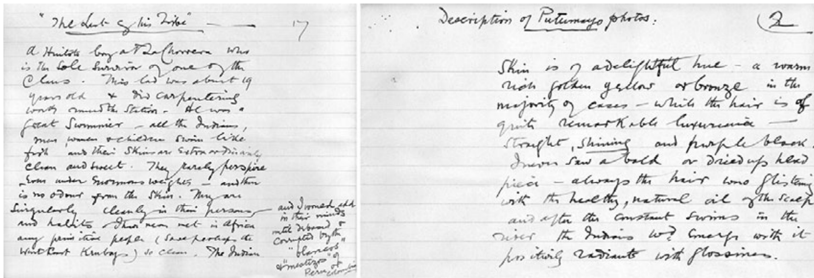


Figure 2.11. "The last of his tribe." Photograph by Roger Casement, c. 1912. Copy from the US National Archives. Record Group 59: General Records of the Department of State 1910–29 Central Decimal Fil. File: 823.5048/30.


"The Last of his Tribe" — 17

A Huitoto boy at La Chorrera who is the sole survivor of one of the Clans. This lad was about 19 years old & did carpentering work round the Station. He was a great swimmer — all the Indians, men, women & children swim like fish and their skins are extraordinarily clean and sweet. They rarely perspire even under enormous weights — and there is no odour from the skin. They are singularly cleanly in their persons and habits — I have never met in Africa any primitive people (save perhaps the [illegible] Krubays) so clean. The Indian

and I would add in their minds until debased or corrupted by the "blancos" or "mestizos" of [illegible]

Description of Putumayo photos: (2

Skin is of a delightful hue — a warm rich golden yellow or bronze in the majority of cases — while the hair is of quite remarkable luxuriance — straight, shining and purple black. I never saw a bald or dried up head piece — always the hair was glistening with the healthy, natural oil of the scalp and after the constant swims in the river the Indians w[oul]d emerge with it positively radiant with glossiness.

Figure 2.12. Roger Casement's notes on the photograph "The last of his tribe," c. 1912. Copy from "Photographs of Putumayo Indians," January 26, 1912, US National Archives. Record Group 59: General Records of the Department of State 1910–29 Central Decimal File. File: 823.5048/30.

In this "description" of the photograph—as Casement himself calls his text—he intertwines the use of a common trope of salvage ethnography—"the last of the tribe"—with an appreciation for the aesthetic value of Huitoto bodies, and a temporal narrative that questions the civilizing mission of the white trader: "I would add in their minds until debased or corrupted by the 'blancos.'" Moreover, Casement's vivid description of the Huitoto hair and skin uses both visual and olfactory senses, highlighting the fact that he has been in close proximity to them.

One persistent strategy used by Casement in these texts is very similar to that of the diaries: a reconstruction of his encounters with these subjects, the impressions they made on him, and the stories that help the viewer imagine both the (specific and systematic) violence inflicted on them, as well as their lives and their cultures beyond the specific context of violence that marked their bodies. A great number of these photographs are frontal portraits of individuals, taken at eye level. In most of them, they look at the camera, as in figure 2.11 or in the photograph of Ricudo discussed in the previous section (figure 2.8), which Casement added to the collection sent to the US embassy. In one of these portraits, he mentions that the photographed man was a friend of his and had a witty mind, while in another, he recounts that the chief of a tribe had told him that his family had been murdered. Each image is framed with a narrative that often grounds it in the photographic moment and, at the same time, exceeds it, telling the viewer what happened before or after the photograph was taken. Together, the photographs and texts in the series aim to provide ethical knowledge, a knowledge not only of what there is, but also of what there should be.

Moreover, in emphasizing his encounters with these people, the photo/text montage both connects the indexical dimension of the image

to Casement's testimonial authority, to his "being there," and fosters a kind of proximity that could be called "humanizing." These photo/text assemblages are humanizing not because they confer humanity on the subject photographed, but because they reveal Casement's affective, embodied presence in the scene. In this sense, Casement's concept of point of view is a way of humanizing the viewers themselves, by emphasizing the relational, social aspect of seeing.

What these images reveal depends not only on social, historical, and political context, but also on the viewer's ability to be affected by them or, in Casement's words, "on affection as the root principle of contact."[73] This affective dimension helps shed light on other photographs that are part of Casement's archive, and which seem detached from the whole setting of the rubber stations. They are posed portraits of men in different places, and they don't seem to follow the iconographic tradition either of the picturesque or of ethnography. There usually are two or more photos of the same subject, with slight changes in light and pose, showing that Casement, and the models who posed, took time in making them (figures 2.13–2.16). Some of them resemble other por-

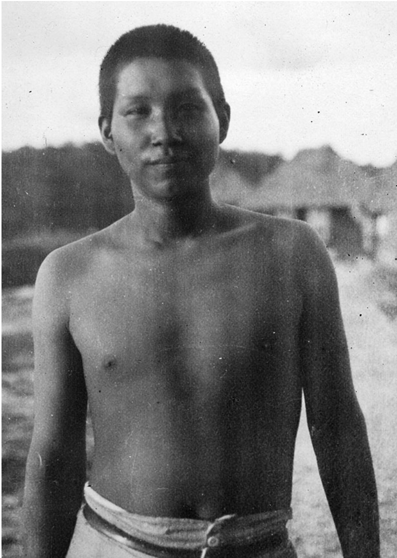


Figure 2.13. "Shirtless man." Photograph by Roger Casement, c. 1900–1910. Roger Casement Photographic Collection, National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland. CAS22A. Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

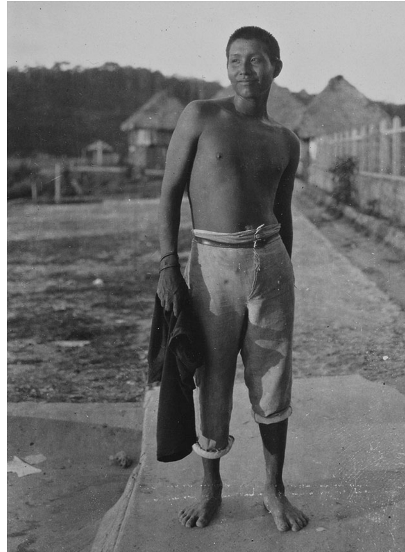


Figure 2.14. "Man wearing rolled-up trousers and carrying shirt." Photograph by Roger Casement, c. 1900–1910. Roger Casement Photographic Collection, National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland. CAS22B. Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

traits, for instance the bourgeois portraits Casement made of European men, revealing individual personalities, and playing with shadows and the revelation of individual character. Others have a particularly sensual and theatrical aspect. Some are made in isolated scenarios (we cannot tell where and when they were made) and in them the young men pose, shirtless, sensually, for Casement's gaze. They reveal how Casement's gaze was charged in part by the eros that one can also see in his Black Diaries, through which the body of the other is not only the site of inscription of a crime, but is desired and desiring.

Figure 2.15. "Bare-chested man leaning against a stone wall." Photograph by Roger Casement, c. 1900–1910. Roger Casement Photographic Collection, National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland. CAS42D. Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

Figure 2.16. "Bare-chested man posing in front of stone wall." Photograph by Roger Casement, c. 1900–1910. Roger Casement Photographic Collection, National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland. CAS42C. Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

CHAPTER 3

Debris

The Indigenous Past in an Ethnographer's Dream

Since the nineteenth century, photographic practices and debates have aroused suspicions as to the political and moral effects of the proliferation of images of atrocities in the public sphere.[1] In 1910 Roger Casement, among others, suggested that the circulation of images of wounded Indigenous bodies was not in itself sufficient to prove wrongdoing or to alter public opinion. Photographic images could lie, conceal, or incite the wrong responses. But it was not until the advent of modern photography, and especially with technical developments that allowed for the popularization of the snapshot in the 1920s and 1930s, that metaphors linking cameras to the destructive forces of modernization became common. By turns euphoric and despairing, prey to utopian optimism as well as deep spiritual disarray, the short period between the two World Wars remains one of the richest in photographic history. In the aftermath of the mechanized slaughter of World War I, avant-garde artists, commercial illustrators, and journalists turned to photography as if seeking to discover through its mechanisms and materials something about the soul of contemporary industrial society. While diverse avant-garde movements embraced the photographic medium as capable of expressing modern consciousness, a suspicion of the medium as a mechanized, violent source of knowledge also emerged. The development of modern photography and of a modern criticism of photography during this era paralleled a renewed interest in non-Western traditions

and popular culture, and the institutionalization of the discipline of ethnology. In this context, metropolitan travelers critically retraced the steps of previous explorers in order to rediscover the aesthetics of the "hinterlands" of the "New World." This retracing was both symbolic and concrete: first, it involved uncovering and criticizing the role of European archives in the formation of images of the New World and counterposing them with new images and new ways of seeing. Second, travelers had to literally follow in the steps of past explorers who attempted to integrate these vast regions into national territories and global economies, traveling over the telegraph lines and railroads constructed at the turn of the century to modernize extractive economies.

This chapter examines the French couple Claude and Dina Lévi-Strauss's 1935–36 and 1938 ethnographic expeditions through the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso into the Amazon basin, following the paths of the telegraph line constructed by the Comissão de Linhas Telegráficas Estratégicas de Mato Grosso ao Amazonas (Strategic Telegraph Commission of Mato Grosso to Amazonas), commonly known as the Comissão Rondon (Rondon Commission).[2] The couple carried a Leica and a small 8mm movie camera. Their voyages led to one of the most famous accounts of the plight of the Indigenous populations in central Brazil, Claude Lévi-Strauss's book *Tristes tropiques* (*Sad Tropics*),[3] published in 1955. Based on his former wife's and his own photographs, field notes, articles, and reflections, the book is simultaneously a melancholic meditation about time, an epistemological reflection on the impossibility of encountering alterity, and a condemnation of the violence of the expansion of mechanized civilization. Lévi-Strauss also denounces modern technologies of representation, especially photography, which he views both as paradigms of an empiricist form of knowledge and as agents in the destruction of non-Western communities and primitive modes of existence. This may explain why most of the three thousand photographs that Claude Lévi-Strauss (and perhaps also Dina) took in Brazil have remained unseen and been kept separate from the anthropologist's main archive, which includes hundreds of field notes, drawings, and letters that can be consulted by any interested researcher at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Stored in the home of Lévi-Strauss's son,[4] what one imagines to be his most ethnographic photographic series instead is to this day part of a family collection.

The invisibility of those images, as well as the ways in which some of them have become visible through their reframing and re-captioning when published in different works, should be understood in the context

of Lévi-Strauss's contribution to what Claude Imbert has referred to as "a more general reappraisal of what was formerly called *data* in anthropology,"[5] and consequently to the debate about the scientific value and ethical validity of all photographed materials that exist as remnants of encounters between modern explorers and ethnographers and Indigenous communities.

The beginning of Lévi-Strauss's career as an anthropologist was marked by two symbolic journeys: the first was his trip to Brazil in the 1930s, when he was invited to participate, with other French professors, in the founding of the University of São Paulo. Then a philosophy professor, Lévi-Strauss had grown weary, as he affirms in *Tristes tropiques*, of the "claustrophobic, Turkish-bath atmosphere in which it [his mind] was being imprisoned by the practice of philosophical reflection" (59). He thus saw his invitation to stay in Brazil as an opportunity to turn to the newly established academic discipline of ethnography.[6] While they were in Brazil, Dina Lévi-Strauss, a philosopher, also turned towards ethnography, joining the folklore society (the Sociedade de Etnografia e Foclore) run by Mário de Andrade from his office at the São Paulo municipal government's Department of Culture.[7] The second symbolic journey was Claude Lévi-Strauss's exile in New York City during the Nazi occupation of France. In New York, where Lévi-Strauss arrived carrying as "his sole wealth" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 37) his field documents, including photographic negatives, he encountered the American anthropological tradition, as well as Roman Jakobson's concept of structural linguistics. This second voyage is usually identified as the point of origin of Lévi-Strauss's more explicit concerns with the epistemological aspects of anthropology.[8] What followed Lévi-Strauss's second return to France was his reformulation of the meaning of the ethnographic encounter, an effort to abandon the usual temporal order of phenomenology in which the ethnologist is pictured as a receiver of sense data that can later be organized as knowledge. Lévi-Strauss suggests instead that the cognitive process functions within an intermediary realm of signs. This reconsideration of the ethnographic encounter was, in turn, followed by Lévi-Strauss's attempt to rethink his own experiences of ethnographic contact, about which he has provided several testimonies, starting with *Tristes tropiques*. As James Boon suggests, the result of Lévi-Strauss's experiment with ethnographic writing in that book resembles a symbolist narrative.[9] The narrator describes the desire of a young ethnologist to encounter alterity, only to find out that this is an impossible dream: the others he encounters are either too similar (too acculturated, like

the Kadiwéu) or too different (like the Tupi-Kawahib) to be understood by the anthropologist, who ends up contemplating his own history through their opaque eyes. In this symbolist critique of modernization, Lévi-Strauss avoids revealing the specific historical and political context that accommodated his presence and made possible his work in Mato Grosso, such as, for example, the role of the writer Mário de Andrade, then director of the Department of Culture in São Paulo, with whom his wife, Dina Lévi-Strauss, worked closely later on. Moreover, differently from Roger Casement (chapter 2) and Mário de Andrade (chapter 4), in Lévi-Strauss's critique of modernization, questions of extractivism and of labor exploitation are somewhat marginal, and he focuses instead on a more general process of cultural assimilation and human loss.

A few authors have explored a connection between Lévi-Strauss's epistemological concerns and the language of *Tristes tropiques*.[10] Like these authors, I read Lévi-Strauss's account of his ethnographic experience, and more specifically the book *Tristes tropiques*, as an experiment with and reflection upon the relationships between language, perception, and memory. I examine Lévi-Strauss's use of the figures of debris, fragments, and ashes in relation to the dual problem of referentiality and temporality in the context of his attempt to move away from the previous image of the ethnographer as a gatherer of data. However, I argue that this epistemological question also has to be examined in connection with Lévi-Strauss's catastrophic view of modern history, and his desire to give a testimony of that. I argue that the debris in *Tristes tropiques* has a double character: first, an epistemological one, since an encounter is always a mis-encounter, and second, a historical one, since the ruination seems to have been produced by the encounter with civilization itself. In other words, the memoir is constructed as a narrative about a missed encounter with both the past and the other.

It is in Lévi-Strauss's reflections on and uses of photography that his desire to efface the corporeal encounter with the other will prove to be extremely complicated. In contrast to his use of field notes, Lévi-Strauss makes conservative use of his archive of around 3,000 Brazilian photographs in *Tristes tropiques*. It is also in *Tristes tropiques* that he expresses for the first time his mistrust and even hostility toward the photographic medium. Photography figures as the personification of what appeared to him to have gone wrong with anthropology in its preoccupation with external facts and visual information, as well as its participation in the commodification of the exotic. Most important, and often overlooked, are the passages in the book that contain

his descriptions of specific photo-ethnographic encounters. Together with photographs not included in the book, these passages reveal Lévi-Strauss's discomfort with aspects of the phenomenological dimension of the photographic encounter that he himself does not explicitly address in his criticism of the medium. The description of scenes in which he photographed or refused to photograph Kadiwéu, Bororo, Nambikwara, and Tupi-Karawib people convey a preoccupation with the sensual, interested, and sometimes misleading performance of the photographed. Hence, photography appears as a medium unable to contain excesses not only because its indexicality registers too much detail, but also because it carries the marks of an embodied contact. I contend that the ways in which Lévi-Strauss crops, re-captions, and arranges photographic images with other forms of visual representation in *Tristes tropiques* also reveal a fragile attempt to frame out these insurmountable phenomenological dimensions of photography. Finally, I contend that what is also framed out of Lévi-Strauss's photo/text assemblage is exactly what Roger Casement tried to foreground, namely, the details of the political context that made possible his own presence in Mato Grosso, and more specifically, the role of French and Brazilian state employees and of other members of the expedition in that context.

CONTACT AND TECHNOLOGY THROUGH THE RONDON COMMISSION TELEGRAPH LINE

The Lévi-Strauss couple's famous ethnographic expedition in Brazil was, in fact, composed of two different voyages. The first of these took place during Claude Lévi-Strauss's summer vacation from the University of São Paulo in 1935–36. In this expedition, Claude and Dina Lévi-Strauss encountered the Kadiwéu people at the Paraguay border, and the Bororo people in central Mato Grosso. Their longer and more ambitious second voyage, in 1938, resembled a nineteenth-century style expedition in that it was made up of a large team—including the Brazilian anthropologist Luiz de Castro Faria and the tropical medicine specialist Dr. Jean Vellard—and was jointly sponsored by the Brazilian and French governments. This second expedition also mirrored the expansionist ambitions of old explorations: the so-called Serra do Norte Expedition ventured further into Brazilian territory, from Cuiabá to the Madeira River, and led to the homeland of the lesser-known, more isolated Nambikwara and Tupi-Kawahib peoples. It followed the Rondon

Commission telegraph line, which had been built at the turn of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century with the aims of mapping, connecting, and consolidating the vast territory of the Brazilian interior, modernizing the country's backlands, and promoting the "pacific assimilation" of Indigenous groups in the region. According to Lévi-Strauss, since the Rondon Commission,

> no professional anthropologist had ever ventured across it. It was tempting to follow the telegraph line, or what was left of it, to try and find out who exactly the Nambikwara were, as well as the mysterious communities further to the north, whom no one had seen since Rondon had indicated their existence. (*Tristes Tropiques*, 251)

In *Tristes tropiques*, this path to the "mysterious" Amazonian Indigenous communities becomes a reflection of the traveler's desire to repeat the experience of "first contact." But it does not take long for the traveler to discover that the path along the telegraph line is in ruins. The narrator describes how the telegraph line itself "became an archaeological relic of a previous technological age" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 262), with collapsed poles, rusted wires, and a few indebted employees dying slowly without sufficient means to leave their posts. These technological ruins, remnants of a failed project of modernization, coexist with the ruins of previous Indigenous modes of life. Lévi-Strauss finds that, rather than primitive, the Indigenous groups who inhabit these regions are decimated, assimilated, and impoverished.

In order to examine Lévi-Strauss's critique of mechanical civilization, embodied by the photographic camera, it is important to take into consideration the centrality of technology in the imaginary of the Rondon Commission. Actively invested in publicizing the achievements of the commission and in providing knowledge to an urban public about the "hinterlands" of the country, Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon (who became the founder of Brazil's Serviço de Proteção ao Índio, the SPI) not only encouraged various expeditionaries to photograph the work of the commission—such as the engineer Benjamin Rondon (his son), Lieutenant João Lyra, the expeditionary Carlos Lako, and photographers José Louro and Charlotte Rosenbaum, and, most famous of all, Lieutenant Luiz Thomaz Reis—but he founded a Photographic and Cinematographic Section within the SPI, coordinated by Reis.

Rondon himself also appears in dozens of photographs,[11] frequently posing among Indigenous peoples: in statically posed, staged scenes he holds their hands, touches their shoulders, and even embraces them, making literal the idea of contact as touch and togetherness. These images corresponded to Rondon's expectation that a pacific, caring, and even affectionate "first contact" would be the beginning of a successful process of assimilation of Indigenous communities into the political life of the nation. In the introduction to the first of three volumes of *Índios do Brasil*, the voluminous publication of photographs and film stills of expeditions led by or related to Rondon between 1890 and 1940, Rondon points out that some of the Indigenous groups photographed had suffered violent foreign and colonial invasions for centuries while others, contacted for the first time by the commission, are "brought to a friendly coexistence with us, in the *sertão*, by humanitarian means."[12] Rondon's defense of a "humanitarian," nonviolent approach to the "Indian question"[13] was praised at the time by prominent figures already discussed in this book, such as Roger Casement and Euclides da Cunha,[14] and had a lasting legacy on Brazil's indigenist policies.[15] Like da Cunha, Rondon, who was of Indigenous Bororo, Terena, and Guará descent, condemned the history of colonial violence against Indigenous populations as a history of barbaric acts—a history in which civilization itself had betrayed modern civilized values—while simultaneously defending the state's promotion of a pacific coexistence between Indigenous communities and truly civilized institutions.

Technologies of communication—telegraph lines, but also photography and film—played a central role in Rondon's defense of "friendly coexistence" with Indigenous populations and his advocacy of "humanitarian processes" of modernization and integration of the "hinterlands" of the country. In the case of photography, the prolific production of the commission showcased their efforts to promote national integration by bringing Indigenous lands into the field of visibility of the nation. Through these images, "Brazilians" (meaning mostly urban citizens) would get to know "Brazil." Moreover, photography, and specifically the photographic camera, also embodied modernization and the arrival of technological modernity in the "hinterlands." This theme emerges in a series of images that reveal the curious gaze of the Indigenous subjects at modern technical apparatuses, whether they are watches, phonographs, or the camera itself. In "General Rondon explicando o funcionamento de um relógio aos índios Caianã" ("General Rondon explaining how a clock works to the Caianã Indians," figure 3.1), a

Figure 3.1. "General Rondon explicando o funcionamento de um relógio aos índios Caianã" ("General Rondon explaining to the Caianã Indians how a clock works"). Photograph by Benjamin Rondon, n.d. Reproduced from Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, *Índios do Brasil* vol. 2 (Rio de Janeiro: Conselho Nacional de Proteção aos Índios, Ministério da Agricultura, 1946–53), 338.

Tiriyó man and woman join Rondon in gazing attentively at a clock that the general holds in his hands. The vertical framing, often used in portraiture, isolates them from the background, highlighting both the contrast and proximity of the unnamed Tiriyó (identified as Caianã) to the body of Rondon, who appears as a trusted and kind instructor, a father figure. In the background, an Indigenous man partially hidden by Rondon's body holds what looks like a machete without posing much of a risk to the intimate, peaceful scene in the foreground. On the contrary, the figure reinforces Rondon's defense of pacific approaches to Indigenous groups, and his strong opposition to fear-based discourses that used self-defense as a justification for perpetrating violent attacks on them.

Other photographs bring to the fore not only Indigenous peoples' first contact with technology, but the technological mediation of contact itself. In the carefully composed photograph "Rondon tomava notas sobre a ethnographia, emquanto os Kepi-kiri-uats ouviam as nossas músicas. Ao lado, vasos indígenas que foram trazidos para o Museu Nacional" ("Rondon taking ethnographic notes while the Kepkiriwáts listen to our music. At their side, Indigenous pots that were brought to the Museu Nacional," figure 3.2), we find a complex set of technological mediations. The caption indicates that the Kepkiriwáts were listening to music, which is also suggested in the composition of the photograph and the disposition of their bodies, gathered on the right side of the frame and mostly turned towards the phonograph, which stands on the left. Thus described, the scene seems to illustrate the encounter between the Kepkiriwáts and Western music. Nevertheless, what we can in fact see in this photograph is that some of the Kepkiriwáts are actively looking at the phonograph, while others are looking directly at the camera, turning modern machinery into objects of the gaze. To complete this scene of technologically mediated contact, Rondon stands behind the sitting Indigenous group like a supervisor during a school activity, writing down his ethnographic observations.

The photograph, which is composed and captioned as a representation of Rondon's ethnographic activities, ends up presenting an inversion of roles. While the Kepkiriwáts observe the artifacts of Western culture, listen to music, and watch the photographer, Rondon is absorbed in his own cultural activity. Looking downward at his writing pad and pen, he cannot see anything except the images in his mind as he writes. This representation of the ethnographer in the process of writing reminds us that the photographer is also "not seeing" in the act

Figure 3.2. "Rondon tomava notas sobre a ethnographia, emquanto os Kepi-kiri-uats ouviam as nossas músicas. Ao lado, vasos indígenas que foram trazidos para o Museu" ("Rondon taking ethnographic notes while the Kepkiriwáts listen to our music. At their side, Indigenous pots that were brought to the National Museum"). Photograph by Emanuel Silvestre do Amarante, Mato Grosso, Brazil, 1912. Reproduced from the album Comissão Rondon, *Linhas Telegráficas estratégicas de Mato Grosso ao Amazonas, Photographias de construcção, expedições e explorações desde 1900 a 1922*, vol. 1, 157. BRMI CRIcA1.452. Reproduced by permission of Acervo Museu do Índio/FUNAI—Brazil.

of recording. Lieutenant Amarante probably has his eyes glued to the camera's viewer when the shutter opens, exposing the film to light. The photographer is thus incapable of seeing the exact scene that is fixed by the photographic film.[16] Did he see that the older man on the right raised his finger to his mouth (what does this gesture mean?), or that the little boy behind the pot stood up, creating the impression that he is coming out of the pot? While the Kepkiriwáts observe (and listen to) Western cultural practices and objects, Amarante and Rondon are both absorbed in their respective technologies of inscription, aiming to create delayed representations of a scene they saw before they looked away from it in order to write or photograph. This photograph suggests that photography and ethnography are not only about the vision of the ethnographer, but also about his not seeing and his being seen.[17] It reminds us that ethnography is, thus, about delay, memory, and the formation

of archives. This temporality is emphasized by the use of the past imperfect in the caption—"tomava notas" and "ouviam música," which in English correspond to something like "was taking photos" and "were listening to music." Behind Rondon, facing the camera, a door leads to the dark internal space of a household. Shaped in an uncannily similar way to Rondon's hat, the interior of the house is as dark as the inside of the photographic camera. This internal space reminds us once again of the unknowns and unseens of ethnographic recording. Or maybe this photograph represents a supposed contrast between modern and primitive temporalities, a suggestion that Indigenous peoples are not capable of creating documents or archives, that they live immersed in a continuous present, "without history," to use Euclides da Cunha's words.[18] In this respect, it is telling that Rondon's dogs lie peacefully (and passively) among the Kepkiriwáts, as if to imply that animals are also capable of seeing and listening to music, but not of producing durable and transportable recordings of images and sound.

With regard to Rondon's emphasis on coexistence, it is important to note that this scene brings both Western and Indigenous material culture to the fore: the phonograph, the notebook, the rifle, and the Indigenous house, the pots, a musical instrument. Through the purposeful addition of Western artifacts to the frame and the staging of the fascination of Indigenous subjects with modern technology, this image challenges the typical nineteenth-century ethnographic appeal to photographic immediacy or transparency—the idea that the camera is capable of capturing a purely primitive subject without much interference. I am not suggesting that this photograph is an example of the participant observer paradigm of ethnography that was born, with Malinowski's work, in the 1910s, a paradigm that would shatter the nineteenth-century emphasis on ethnography as the collection of raw data by reinserting the experience of the I-ethnographer into the frame. Rondon was not an ethnographer, and his "ethnographic" materials should not be understood in the framework of the discipline of ethnography, but as part of a political and national project that involved imparting knowledge about Brazil's Indigenous population and territory to the country's political elite, thus guaranteeing the survival of this population and promoting their integration into the Brazilian nation. In this sense, photography might best be understood as an interventionist practice, a tool for both representation and transformation. Contact with and through technological apparatuses is the end, not just the means, of the iconography of the Rondon Commission.

This staging of technology as part of a national narrative of progress, expansion, and assimilation is related to but ultimately different from the one that appears in Flávio de Barros's photographs of the Canudos Campaign. As I argued in chapter 1, in framing the massacre of Canudos as a war, Barros's photographs also serve the narrative of assimilation of the territory where the (then ruinous) village sits. They also exhibit modern technology, in this case the army's modern weaponry, as a sign of the process of modernization in the region. This is represented as a forceful, violent assimilation, however. Interestingly, among the Western artifacts that appear in Rondon's photograph, there is also a modern weapon: a rifle. It is relevant that this rifle stands among pots destined to be turned into museum objects, while Rondon's main instrument is a pen, given his insistence on the pacific assimilation of Indigenous peoples, exemplified by his famous motto: "To die if necessary; to kill never."[19] This motto is highlighted in the introduction to the first volume of *Índios do Brasil*, where this photograph is reproduced, followed by a list of Indigenous groups that had supposedly never been contacted before, including the Kepkiriwáts. Interestingly, the reproduction of this image in *Índios do Brasil* crops the left side of the frame, including the rifle, out.[20] Rondon conceived of assimilation "through humanitarian means" as a long, slow process, and he defended the right of Indigenous peoples to retain their cultural practices in the meantime.[21]

The visibility of technological mediation in the photographs taken by the Rondon Commission is not surprising when we remember that the construction of telegraph lines, a technology of communication, was the primary purpose of the commission and the symbol of the integration and consolidation of a national territory. This emphasis on coexistence within the space of the nation is the focus of yet another photograph showing the contact between Indigenous people and technology, "Marco de Fronteira do Brasil no rio Tiquié. Índios Tuiúca e Tucano interessam-se vivamente pela máquina cinematográfica do Major Reis" ("Brazil's Boundary Marker at the Tiquié River. Tuyuka and Tukano Indians' lively interest in Major Reis's cinematographic machine," figure 3.3), by Charlotte Rosenbaum. Major Reis, who became the head of the Photographic and Cinematographic Section of the SPI, and his film camera appear in this photograph surrounded by young Tuyucas e Tukanos. Even though their body postures suggest some spontaneity, the positioning of the group in a semicircle, allowing the film camera, which is the center of attention, to appear in the photograph, makes it evident that the scene is staged. The boundary marker, to their left, emphasizes

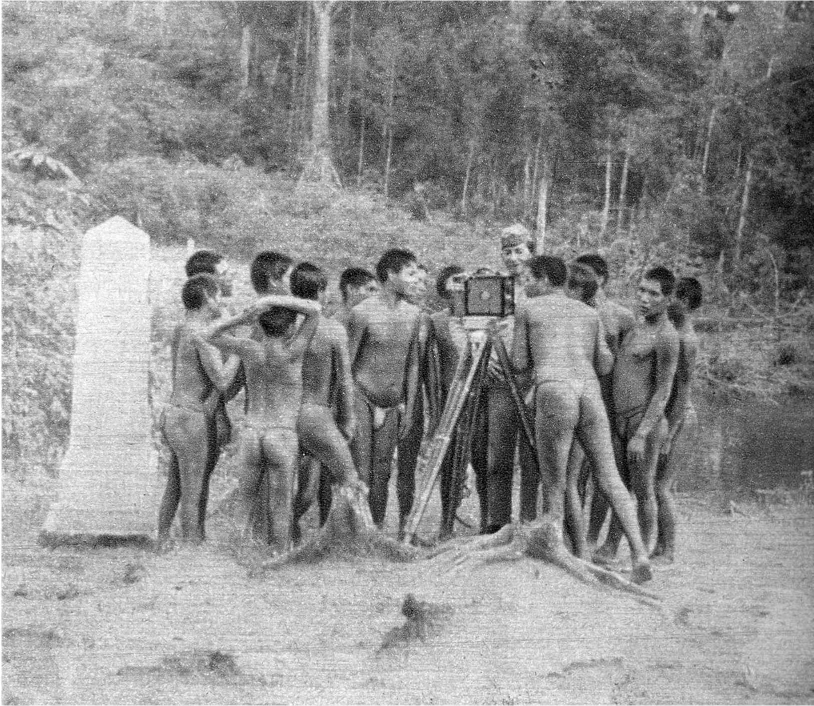


Figure 3.3. "Marco de Fronteira do Brasil no rio Tiquié. Índios Tuiúca e Tucano interessam-se vivamente pela máquina cinematográfica do Major Reis" ("Brazil's Boundary Marker at the Tiquié River. Tuyuka and Tukano Indians' lively interest in Major Reis's cinematographic machine"). Photograph by Charlotte Rosenbaum, n.d. Reproduced from Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, *Índios do Brasil*, vol. 3 (Rio de Janeiro: Conselho Nacional de Proteção aos Índios, Ministério da Agricultura, 1946–53), 244.

the coexistence of technology and Indigenous communities within the territory of the nation. Whereas the Rondon Commission aimed at both consolidating and integrating national territory, the role of the camera complements that of the telegraph line in creating an imaginary of pacific national unity.

Contact with technology acquires the force of a rupture in the narrative of the Rondon Commission: when the photographic gaze reflects the Indigenous subjects' astonished gaze at the camera, modernity is not just represented, it is also embodied as an irresistible desire. Thus, in contrast with weapons, technologies of representation and communication symbolize, in the imagery of the Rondon Commission, the higher values of modernity and the irresistible impulse toward modernization.

In this sense, the photographic moment itself—or the "micro-event of photography," in the words of anthropologist Christopher Pinney[22]—supposedly coincides with the inauguration of modernity in the backlands, which, although it comes late, is believed to be irreversible. It is as if in each of these photographs, an urban public is invited to witness the first moment in the steady process of the pacific assimilation defended by Rondon.

In *Tristes tropiques*, the ethnographer's ultimately impossible desire to replicate the "first contact," and his sad discovery that the "primitive" cultures he expected to encounter in the tropics had been destroyed by the expansion of "civilization" brought about in central Brazil and the Amazon basin by the construction of Rondon's telegraph line, can appear at first to merely invert the values encountered in the written and photographic narratives of the Rondon Commission: contact still has the force of a historical rupture, but for Lévi-Strauss this means the tragic destruction of human diversity.[23]

The role of photography in the West's destructive expansionist endeavor, as Lévi-Strauss affirms in the opening pages of *Tristes tropiques*, is to invest the "primitives" with "nobility at the very time when it is completing their destruction" (41). Caught in the "trap of our mechanistic civilization," Indigenous peoples are replaced by "albums in full color" (41). Like Rondon, Lévi-Strauss also depicts scenes of Indigenous encounters with modern technology. The most famous of these is *Tristes tropiques*' chapter "The Writing Lesson," an account of the introduction of writing to an illiterate society. This scene is enacted in the encounter between the anthropologist and the Nambikwara, described by Lévi-Strauss not only as the most dispossessed people of all those he encountered during his fieldwork in Brazil, but the one that seemed closest to "a society reduced to its simplest expression" (317). The scene goes as follows: one day, while writing in his notebook, Lévi-Strauss observes the Nambikwara drawing wavy lines on pieces of paper, mimicking what they see him do with writing implements. The chief of the "tribe," however, had further ambitions, since "he was the only one who had grasped the purpose of writing" (296). After scribbling lines on paper, the chief attempted to read to his fellow Nambikwara, "pretending to hesitate as he checked on it the list of objects I was to give in exchange for the presents he offered me" (296). This farce, which went on for two hours, is interpreted by Lévi-Strauss as an attempt by the chief to act as an intermediary agent for the exchange of goods and demonstrate his alliance with the white man, by which he could show that he "shared

his [the white man's] secrets" (296). Thus, what the chief Nambikwara grasped, according to Lévi-Strauss, was not how to write, but the fact that writing itself is a source of power, a secret that creates social difference between the groups.[24] This scene exemplifies Lévi-Strauss's formal and historical criticism of modern technologies of representation, their connection to modern individualism, and their exploitative, possessive relation to the represented.

In a series of radio interviews with Georges Charbonnier recorded in October–December 1959 and broadcast four years after the publication of *Tristes tropiques*, we find the basic principles of Lévi-Strauss's critique of modern modes of representation.[25] These come up during a conversation about modern art, the first public exposition of his views on the topic. Asked by Charbonnier about the difference between primitive and modern art, Lévi-Strauss begins by naming two aspects that separate them. The first is the individualization of artistic production. He explains that this individualization is not so much a conception of the artist as a unique or skilled creator—for this figure can also be found in some primitive societies—but above all the attitude of the public, which ceases to refer to the totality of the group but instead to individual "amateurs" (Lévi-Strauss and Charbonnier, *Conversations*, 59–60). The second aspect, intrinsically related to the first, is the evolution of art's increasingly "figurative or representative" character (60). Whereas in primitive societies, artists don't aim to "reproduce" the model, but to "signify it" (61),[26] in modern forms of art—which, according to Lévi-Strauss, could be found in Greece after the fifth century B.C.E. and in Italy from the Quattrocento on (60)—there prevails a tendency to reproduce the world and thus to "possess"[27] it through its representation. Lévi-Strauss warns that this figurative tendency should not be understood as a result of the progress of knowledge, technique, or technologies of representation, or as the ultimate achievement of a long-pursued perfection.[28] He challenges the temptations of an evolutionist history by shifting the question away from technical development to the concept of the referent. As he explains it, the point is not that primitives lack the technique to represent reality, but that reality, for them, is not a reserve of things standing by, waiting to be represented. On the contrary, an object in the primitive world—a world charged with the supernatural—is "by definition non-representable, since no facsimile or model for it can be provided" and because "the model is always wide of the representation" (84). This is what in French he calls an "excès d'objet."[29] In contrast, the art of mechanical civilization originates from

the assurance "of being able not only to communicate with the being, but also to possess it through the medium of the effigy" (64). Moreover, if "this avid and ambitious desire to take possession of the object for the benefit of the owner or even of the spectator" (64) is related to the loss of a collective process of signification and the individualization of production, it is also related to the emergence of social disparities. The "possessiveness with regard to the object" (64) corresponds to a kind of possessiveness of certain individuals over others. Here, the analysis gains both sociological contours and a clear historical argument; this double possessiveness is made evident, according to Lévi-Strauss, by the fact that the appearance of writing and of caste or class distinctions are concomitant. Thus, although not the result of a progressive development in the means of representation, this shift, responsible for the weakening of modern art's source of signification, is nonetheless indelibly linked to the appearance of technologies of representation: "since writing taught men that signs could be used not only to signify the external world but also to apprehend it, to gain possession of it" (63).

Read as a parable of the Western history of representation, *Tristes tropiques*' chapter "The Writing Lesson" configures the introduction of writing among the Nambikwara as a condensed, abrupt, and violent corruption of "primitive" mode of knowledge. Even though Lévi-Strauss consistently denies evolutionist approaches to cultural difference, in "The Writing Lesson" Western modernity appears as an attractive and therefore dangerous muse that will end up engulfing all other modes of human existence. Ultimately, *Tristes tropiques*' postwar melancholic and catastrophic approach to history predicts that Western society will end up destroying itself.

I will return to *Tristes tropiques*' catastrophic view of history, but first let me turn to some of Lévi-Strauss's texts on Western art, such as his collection of essays entitled *Listen, Look, Read* and the short essay "To a Young Painter,"[30] in order to further explore the anthropologist's ideas about visual representation and, in particular, photography.[31] This is important because Lévi-Strauss's critique of art is not unrelated to his epistemological discussions. Art is evaluated as a way of knowing,[32] and good art is that which—like primitive art—does not seek knowledge through the representation of an external world as it is. Such a stance is made very clear in his complimentary essay on the German painter Anita Albus: "The primary role of art is to sift and arrange the profuse information that the outer world is constantly sending out to assail the sensory organs."[33] In *The Savage Mind*, Lévi-Strauss argues that what

distinguishes works of art as objects of knowledge is the fact that they function as reductions in scale or properties (23) of their models.[34] By renouncing certain dimensions of the object—size, volume, color, smell, tactile impressions, or the temporal dimension—"they are therefore not just projections or passive homologues of the object: they constitute real experiments with it" (24). This "thoughtful selection" is followed by a "method of construction" (24).

Hence art's double bind: it exists simultaneously at the level of the sensory, because it requires an attempt to grasp "nature," and at the level of the intellect, because this attempt takes the form of the ordering and selection of sense data.[35] In order to understand why Lévi-Strauss's thoughts on art are relevant for a reading of his ethnographic writing and photography, it is important to note that the primary criterion for his aesthetic judgment is whether a work fulfills or not such a cognitive function.[36] When discussing the work of the French painter Nicolas Poussin in *Listen, Look, Read*, for example, he calls the art-making process a "recomposition" (32–33), and his essay about Albus stresses that the artist "takes the liberty of placing them [objects of nature] in unforeseen arrangements that enrich our knowledge of things by making us perceive new relationships among them."[37] Such a characterization of the cognitive process of art is not far from the anthropologist's more general theory of knowledge, in which nature often appears as a "storehouse of sensible qualities from which the mind draws some elements to be transformed into signs."[38] The same claim can be found with regard to Lévi-Strauss's approach to myths. Based on the idea that knowledge begins in the sensible world, Lévi-Strauss refutes the break between art, myth, and science: "The work of the painter, the poet or the musician, like the myths and symbols of the savage, ought to be seen by us, if not as a superior form of knowledge, at least as the most fundamental and the only really common one to us all; science thought is merely the sharp point" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 123). As James Boon has suggested, while Lévi-Strauss views art as an experiment with sensory information and native myth as "the ordering or classification of man in nature," he sees his own analytic procedures as more akin to "the ordering of those classifications."[39] The work of the anthropologist—or that of the artist—is thus not just a question of an a posteriori rearrangement on the surface of raw data, but something that should function beyond the separation between objective and subjective, in the intermediary realm of signs. Such a cognitive theory of art, and its relationship to Lévi-Strauss's more general theory of knowledge, mark the way he reflects

upon technologies of representation, such as writing and photography. We begin to understand his attack on forms of representation that seem to him to exemplify the desire to apprehend the object as it is, in its natural, unmediated reality. This becomes clear in Lévi-Strauss's comparison between two forms of realism, trompe l'oeil painting and photography: "With *trompe l'oeil* one does not represent, one reconstructs. This requires knowledge (even of what is not shown) together with reflection" (*Look, Listen, Read*, 29). While with trompe l'oeil the artist "grasps and displays what was not perceived," photography, "as the term snapshot suggests," thoughtlessly "seizes this moment [of beauty] and exhibits it" (30). In this defense of trompe l'oeil technique—which at first seems to contradict his distinction between signifying and figurative art—the difference between representation and reconstruction is accompanied by the counterposing of two conceptions of the referent. For photography, the referent would be the totality of the external world, the surface of objects that are out there, while in the case of trompe l'oeil images, the referent is neither subjective nor entirely objective, but that which is discovered through the mediated process of cognition.

If writing inaugurates for the anthropologist the representative power of inscription, it is photography that better exemplifies the desire to possess the world through its representation. Beginning with *Tristes tropiques*, written in the 1950s, all the way through to *Look, Listen, Read*, published in 1993, Lévi-Strauss's direct references to photography consistently portray it as the opposite of a process of cognition. For him, photography is thoughtless: "Photographic realism does not distinguish accidents from the nature of things, but places them both on the same level. There is certainly a process of reproduction, but the part played by the intellect is minimal" (*Look, Listen, Read*, 29). The photographic apparatus—"the physical and mechanical constraints of the camera, the chemical constraints of the sensitive film, the subjects possible, the angle of view, and the lighting—"restricts the "freedom" of the photographer to process the data that they receive ("To a Young Painter," 249). In sum, a photograph is unmediated, unprocessed; it is, in Elizabeth Edwards's terms, "raw data."[40] And if because of that it fails to be a work of art, it also fails, as Lévi-Strauss already argues in *Tristes tropiques*, to be a source of anthropological knowledge.

> Nowadays, being an explorer is a trade, which consists not, as one might think, in discovering hitherto unknown facts after years of study, but in covering a great many miles and

> assembling lantern-slides or motion pictures, preferably in colour, so as to fill a hall with an audience for several days in succession. For this audience, platitudes and commonplaces seem to have been miraculously transmuted into revelations by the sole fact that their author, instead of doing his plagiarizing at home, has supposedly sanctified it by covering some twenty thousand miles. (*Tristes Tropiques*, 17–18)

I will leave aside for a moment other important aspects of this passage, such as his description of traveling as the process of going abroad and coming back, which sanctifies the images, turning them into revelations. What I would like to remark on now is how Lévi-Strauss emphasizes the illusion-making aspect of photography, "preferably in colour," dissociating its mimetic power from any capacity to provide valuable knowledge. Equally noteworthy is the opposition between surface and depth, instantaneity and durability, expressed in the way he distinguishes the exploration of images that are mere "platitudes" from facts that are unearthed through time, "after years of study." If knowledge is a question of mediation and time, photography—especially modern, instantaneous color photography—is, for Lévi-Strauss, its enemy. It transforms non-Western cultures into images to be consumed.

It is evident how photographic technology, thus conceived, would be a problem for Lévi-Strauss's reformulation of ethnographic knowledge, which is marked by his attempt to replace the duality between sense data and language with another syntactical organization; the photographic technique would be incompatible with a process of cognition that functions beyond the opposition between subject and object, between the mental and the corporeal. Additionally, through photographic technique's objectification of the world, it would partake in the desire to consume the other; hence its central role in the commercialization of the "exotic." These two enemies personified by photographic technology—from the point of view of an anthropological narrative based on the gathering of objective data, separating observer and observed, and the mass marketing of travel books and "exotic" photography—constitute the two major obstacles encountered by the narrator of *Tristes tropiques* in writing an ethnographic memoir. The actual photographs and the ways in which Lévi-Strauss narrates his photographic encounters with specific Indigenous groups in Brazil, however, exhibit a far more complex dynamic.

To conclude this assessment of Lévi-Strauss's criticism of photographic representation and its relationship to the demise of ethnogra-

phy as a process of collecting raw data, it is important to remember that such criticism is itself not unrelated to the larger context of anthropology. In fact, scholars in the field of visual anthropology have widely documented how, in the first decades of the twentieth century, photography started fading away from anthropological papers and monographs, migrating to other sites or at least acquiring different functions. This process has also been widely interpreted, especially in the case of British and American anthropology, with which Lévi-Strauss had become acquainted before his trip to Brazil. The anthropologist Roslyn Poignant calls attention to the fact that, with the growth in importance of the field-worker and a call for more intensive field-based approaches, "the avalanche of ethnographic facts could no longer be accommodated within the theoretical frame of the discipline."[41] Pinney calls the emergence of the field-worker as the central validator of the ethnographic enterprise part of a shift toward a "re-Platonizing" tendency in anthropology, the "gradual displacement onto an invisible internalized world of meaning . . . such as concern with social structures."[42] Marcus Banks and Jay Ruby add that, together with "the development of long-term fieldwork, with its Malinowskian emphasis on 'the imponderabilia of everyday life,' and the subsequent rise of interest in the comparative study of abstract institutions such as 'kinship,' 'the economy,' . . . the costs and difficulties of publishing photographs in books and journals contributed to a decline in the perceived value of the photomechanical image."[43]

Moreover, the fact that photographs of "others" were firmly positioned within the travel genre caused documentary photography and photojournalism to be seen as compromising the discipline's use of photography for anthropological purposes. The newly trained ethnographer was reinvented, therefore, not only in opposition to both the armchair anthropologist and the amateur traveler or colonial administrator, but also to the newly emerging market of travel memoirs.[44] In his study of French ethnography, Vincent Debaene argues that whereas other sciences, during their period of consolidation, "had to fight against rhetorical abuses and the lack of seriousness on the part of would-be connoisseurs, anthropology was faced with an entirely new opponent: the sensational."[45] Not in vain, Lévi-Strauss opens *Tristes tropiques* with a critique of this mass "phenomenon," positing it simultaneously as the context in which and against which he is writing: "Amazonia, Tibet and Africa fill the book-shops in the form of travelogues, accounts of expeditions and collections of photographs, in all of which the desire

to impress is so dominant as to make it impossible for the reader to assess the value of the evidence put before him" (18).

However, although photographs were losing their place in ethnographic monographs, they did not disappear completely. In Poignant's reading of Malinowski's photographs, she suggests that they now entered the terrain "between the brute and material information and the ethnographers' final version,"[46] when coordinated with the use of field notes. They could help the anthropologist remember a certain detail of a painting or artifact that might acquire importance within the more elaborated and comprehensive narrative of the anthropologist. This can be a possible historical explanation for the migration of images from the anthropological archives to private archives (which is the case with Lévi-Strauss's collection) or to universities.

In a second hypothesis, examined by Pinney,[47] photographs may have migrated from appearing on the pages of the monograph to inhering in its language. Anthropology may have absorbed the idiom of photography to the point of rendering the latter redundant. The indexical "being there" of photography is transposed onto the figure of the anthropologist, who is exposed for a period of time to this contact with the other. The ethnographer/anthropologist would, like a strip of film, receive this information in a negative form, and reveal it, after processing, in the positive form of a monograph. In this case, it is the body of the anthropologist that is capable of undergoing a transformation. Although he went into the field furnished with a Leica and an "oval-shaped miniature 8mm filming camera," Lévi-Strauss would later declare, in *Saudades do Brasil*, that he "hardly ever used" the movie camera, "feeling guilty if I kept my eye glued to the viewfinder instead of observing and trying to understand what was going on around me."[48]

The metaphor of the "strip of film" is not, however, the prevalent one in Lévi-Strauss's narrative, written twenty years after his ethnographic voyage. Instead, he focuses on the delusions and violence of the phenomenological "being there" that frames the ethnographic contact, and his prevalent metaphors in *Tristes tropiques* emphasize the failed encounter with "remnants" and "shadows" of the dreamed "primitives." Lévi-Strauss's use of his field notes evince an attempt to emphasize the mediation of time and subjectivity in his narrative of the (already mediated) encounter with Indigenous peoples in Brazil: portraying the ethnographer as an archeologist and a *bricoleur*, the narrator emphasizes all that was already lost when he was there, and what has been lost since he left Brazil. Because he saw photography as a type of mechan-

ical reproduction too close to the uncoded world of surfaces and as part of the process of disguising the destruction caused by mechanical civilization, Lévi-Strauss seems reluctant to explore many of the critical and modernist approaches to modern photography with which he was certainly familiar.[49]

MEMORY, LOSS, AND THE ARCHIVAL FRAGMENT

> I hate travelling and explorers. Yet here I am proposing to tell the story of my expeditions. . . . It is now fifteen years since I left Brazil for the last time and all during this period I have often planned to undertake the present work, but on each occasion a sort of shame and repugnance prevented me making a start. Why, I asked myself, should I give a detailed account of so many trivial circumstances and insignificant happenings? (*Tristes Tropiques*, 16–17)

Much has been said about the opening of *Tristes tropiques*, in which Lévi-Strauss disparages travel narratives "in the form of travelogues, accounts of expeditions and collections of photographs" (17).[50] The denunciation of tourists, adventurers, and reporters is, however, an older trope. In an insightful suggestion, Debaene argues that the specificity of Lévi-Strauss's "fond farewell to savages and explorations"[51] lies in the fact that it opposes not only the sensationalist subjectivism of the amateur adventurer's tales but also the "insipid details" or "insignificant events" found in ethnographic monographs, which were usually subject to the chronological and contingent order of the field diary.[52] Unlike most travel accounts, though, Lévi-Strauss starts out backwards, confusing departures and returns, beginnings and ends. His ethnographic narrative—especially in the first four chapters—is, in the first place, constructed as remembrance, not as reportage. Instead of a chronological progression, or a diary, his narration brings together apparently incongruous events, periods, and places. While the chapter about the first time Lévi-Strauss crossed the Atlantic on his way to Brazil ends up focusing on the description of his escape in 1941 from occupied France, the memory of a large hotel in Goiania takes the narrator to his experience in Karachi, in Pakistan.

In this remembrance, the narrator presents his past self as a lonely traveler in search of the exotic, following the path of the great adven-

turers of colonial history. The presence of the other participants in the expeditions—among them his wife Dina Lévi-Strauss, the tropical medicine specialist Dr. Jean Vellard, and the Brazilian anthropologist Luiz de Castro Faria—is barely mentioned in the subjective account of his long-awaited encounter with Brazilian Indigenous groups. The drivers, herders, missionaries, and canoeists also appear only fleetingly. Dina Lévi-Strauss's absence from the narrative is remarkable, since the author relies on some of her notes and on texts they coauthored, to recount parts of the expedition. Her presence is mentioned only one time throughout the entire book, when the narrator says that his wife, "who had taken part in all my expeditions so far, her specialty being the study of material culture and skills" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 301), was the first to catch an eye disease that affected the Nambikwara, along with the whole crew, which forced her to leave the field before the end of the expedition. Also mentioned a single time is Luiz de Castro Faria, the Brazilian anthropologist whose presence was imposed on Lévi-Strauss by the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro because the Brazilian state required the presence of a Brazilian participant in any international mission in the country.[53]

Castro Faria's papers, held today at the Museu de Anstronomia e Ciencias Afins (Museum of Astronomy and Related Sciences, in Rio de Janeiro), detail the difficult process of obtaining authorization for Lévi-Strauss's second expedition from Brazil's Serviço de Proteção ao Índio (The Indian Protection Service)—the federal agency founded in 1910 under the directorship of General Cândido Rondon. The avant-garde writer Mário de Andrade, who was the director of São Paulo's Department of Culture at the time, played a key role in the negotiations. Andrade was interested in the dissemination of a scientific approach to ethnography in Brazil, and worked closely with Dina Lévi-Strauss in founding the Sociedade de Etnografia e Folclore (Society of Ethnography and Folklore) in São Paulo. By ignoring the role of his Brazilian counterparts in *Tristes tropiques*, Lévi-Strauss also ignores his position in the cultural and political context and the historical framework of the relationship between Indigenous groups and the Brazilian state, which played an important role in the history and politics of contact in the region. In *Tristes tropiques* the narrator is portrayed as a solitary adventurer, and his experience of contact, placed in the context of a long colonial history, is somewhat isolated from the present political context.

Tristes tropiques begins with the young Lévi-Strauss's search for a pure form of alterity, which he will discover to be an impossible enterprise. The issue addressed by the author is not only the impossibility of

narrating something that happened many years before his writing about it, when he was involved in his fieldwork in Brazil; it is also the question of searching for the simplest form of life "as a return to an earlier era of humankind, to our own point of origin."[54] The traveler is described as akin to a young Indigenous man in a puberty rite who leaves his own society in search of a revelation, but, in this case, brings back nothing but a "handful of ashes" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 41).

The narrator's insistence on colonial nostalgia also plays out, and is deliberately staged by an almost naive Lévi-Strauss at the beginning of the book: when crossing the same mid-ocean doldrums, the "last mystical barrier" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 74) between two worlds that had caused Columbus to stray from the route that would have led him to Brazil, Lévi-Strauss relives this exceptional moment when "everything would be called into question" (74). It is thus through the eyes of the first travelers that Lévi-Strauss crosses this imaginary line past which nothing will be left as it once was, where the indirect reflection of the sun rays reverses "the normal relationship of luminosity between air and water" (73): "it was more or less in the area where we were now sailing that Columbus encountered mermaids" (76). Likewise, it is with Jean de Léry's book in his pocket that he enters Rio de Janeiro for the first time: "I walked up the Avenida Rio-Branco, once a site occupied by Tupinamba villages, but in my pocket I carried Jean de Léry, the anthropologist's breviary" (81). Like Roger Casement, who affirms that he sees the Indigenous peoples of the Putumayo through Irish (and thus colonized) eyes, Lévi-Strauss carries with him the transatlantic colonial archive. It is as a memory, with his own body bearing the traces of all the encounters between European men and Indigenous people of the land we now call Brazil, that the anthropologist is able to recognize, in Rio Branco Avenue, the memory of the Tupinambá, even as the Paris-inspired modernist urban project in downtown Rio de Janeiro effaced any visible traces of them.

But over and over, Lévi-Strauss remembers that repetition is impossible: "What they saw then, no Western eye will ever see again" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 326). That is why he can do no more than try to "re-create" (43) what the first travelers supposedly saw in all its splendor, through fragments and broken pieces. Shadows, ghosts, fragments, ashes, ruins, and debris are strongly present in Lévi-Strauss's narrative, which often evokes the fetish of a primeval and original reality that preceded or is exterior to the realities of contact. In the words of Carol Jacobs, the temporal structure of *Tristes tropiques*' narrative aims at exposing the "fundamental unknowability of the anthropologist's scientific ob-

ject either as past or as other."[55] However, in denying the possibility of encountering the dreamed object of his search, the anthropologist still encounters something: "Dreams, 'the god of the savages,' as the old missionaries used to say, have always slipped through my fingers like quicksilver. But a few shining particles may have remained stuck, here and there" (42). These fragments are the raw material for both the ethnologist, who is described as an "archaeologist of space, seeking in vain to re-create a lost local colour with the help of fragments and debris" (43), and the writer, who uses his own archive to provide an account of the ethnographic encounter.

Time, which engenders loss and forgetting, provides at the same time the condition of possibility for writing and understanding. According to the narrator, giving an account of the experience of contact is possible only because time has passed.[56] After "twenty years of forgetfulness" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 44), the writer undergoes a reorganizing experience. Through the disappearance of certain events and the concatenation of others, patterns begin to appear and a meaningful structure that surpasses his subjective will takes shape:

> I have constantly reproached myself for not seeing as much as I should. For a long time I was paralysed by this dilemma, but I have the feeling that the cloudy liquid is now beginning to settle. Evanescent forms are becoming clearer, and confusion is being slowly dispelled. What has happened is that time has passed. Forgetfulness, by rolling my memories along in its tide, has done more than merely wear them down or consign them to oblivion. . . . Sharp edges have been blunted and whole sections have collapsed: periods and places collide, are juxtaposed or are inverted, like strata displaced by the tremors on the crust of an ageing planet. Some insignificant detail belonging to the distant past may now stand out like a peak, while whole layers of my past have disappeared without trace. Events without any apparent connection, and originating from incongruous periods and places, slide one over the other and suddenly crystallize into a sort of edifice which seems to have been conceived by an architect wiser than my personal history. (*Tristes Tropiques*, 44)

In the moment of writing, he realizes that past debris and fragments have been relocated and transformed, echoing Proust's description of

the moment of awakening, that peculiar stage between sleep and awareness in which everything revolves around the individual—the furniture, the countries, the years—before again becoming immobile.[57] As a reader of Proust and Freud, Lévi-Strauss suggests that forgetting plays an important role in memory. This passage also illustrates his positive theory of knowledge, in the sense that the empirical encounter with alterity (with the past or the primitive) is replaced by the encounter with an edifice "conceived by an architect wiser than my personal history." What makes understanding possible for the structuralist anthropologist is a cognitive function that governs both the moment of perception and the work of memory, and a structure that is found in "incongruous periods and places."

Lévi-Strauss's spatial, geological description of the relationship between present and past, which, as he himself affirmed, is related to his interest in psychoanalysis (*Tristes Tropiques*, 55–57), also reveals the way in which the author uses his material archive to avoid turning the narrative into a chronologically ordered diary. An analysis of the Lévi-Strauss archive at the Bibliothèque Nationale reveals that *Tristes tropiques* was constructed in great part from collages and montages of previous lectures, papers, unpublished manuscripts, and field writings.[58] In some cases, the transcription of a previous text remains heterogeneous within the narrative. Visible thresholds keep the fragments at once inside and outside the narrative, suturing past and present without completely blurring the fractures between them.

One of the most obvious of these archival fragments appears in chapter 7, "Sunset." The passage is a word-for-word transcription—in the form of a citation—of a few pages Lévi-Strauss wrote in the boat during his first voyage to Brazil. "The state of grace" of the young soon-to-be anthropologist is depicted through his attempt to capture a sunset in writing. As in photography, the written record takes on the temporality of the instant: "Notebook in hand, I jotted down second by second the expressions which would perhaps enable me to fix those evanescent and ever-renewed forms" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 62). The sunset, the object that he tries in vain to "fix," is described as simultaneously unique and already a reproduction, not only because, as anyone knows, it repeats itself daily in procedures "always identical but unpredictable" (67), but also, according to the author, because it is a repetition of the day that comes to an end. Lévi-Strauss describes the twilight as "a complete performance with a beginning, a middle and an end . . . a sort of small-scale image of the battles, triumphs and defeats which have succeeded each

other during twelve hours in tangible form; but also at a slower speed" (63). Therefore, the object of the anthropologist's gaze is already a non-mimetic repetition, an image of a different nature, like memory: "Remembering is one of man's great pleasures, but not in so far as memory operates literally, since few individuals would agree to relive the fatigues and sufferings that they nevertheless delight in recalling. Memory is life itself, but of a different quality" (63). The sunset is also an illusion, a spectacle of changing lights and shadows that ends in the dark negative of a "photographic plate of night" which "slowly revealed a seascape above the sea" (68).

Debaene argues that this piece of writing stands exterior to the narration as a product of an older self, a naïf anthropologist worried about external appearances, as opposed to the Proustian writing that abounds in *Tristes tropiques*. In contrast, I suggest that Lévi-Strauss finds in this written piece the precise model for his representation of the ethnographic encounter. Described as a memory, the fact of the sunset is a model for the ethnographic phenomenon that challenges the typical ethnographer as data-gatherer. First, the description of the sunset echoes the Proustian description of memory as a picture that fixes in a moment what were previously images in constant transformation. Second, it resembles the ethnographic subject itself: as I will detail in the next section, in part 6 of *Tristes tropiques* Lévi-Strauss describes his encounter with the Bororo using the same metaphors he uses in this passage. As he approaches their land, he describes the landscape as a plateau that resembles this description of a sea landscape, where "the traditional roles of the sky and the earth are reversed" (209). In an interview in the 1960s, Lévi-Strauss affirmed that he saw in the Bororos "a sort of present tense which is a constantly revitalized past and preserved as it was dreamt in myth and belief."[59] Lastly, in *The Naked Man* (1971), the fourth volume of the *Mythologiques*, Lévi-Strauss will allude once more to this moment when he crossed the Atlantic for the first time and tried to register the sunset, suggesting it was a moment of premonition about his future findings about myths: "[A] complex edifice which also glows with a thousand iridescent colors as it builds up before the analyst's gaze, slowly expands in its full extent, then crumbles and fades away in the distance" (693–94).

Most importantly, the passage about the sunset is an allegory for the series of mediations that Lévi-Strauss enacts in his description of the ethnographic encounter, especially the idea that the object of anthropology is already to some extent an image, because it is already mediated,

a repetition "like memory itself." What remains puzzling is his use of a photographic metaphor in the sunset passage to talk about repetition, difference, and memory. It is clear that the writing in this passage illustrates how the effort to fix an exterior image will always be mediated by selective perception and memory. What about the mention of the "photographic plate of night"? This expression points to a nonhuman seizing of movement that reveals an image. This seizure, however, is nothing like the possessive realism that Lévi-Strauss attributes to photography in other passages of *Tristes tropiques*; rather, it points to the idea of a negative that generates infinite copies that are "always identical but unpredictable." It points to the development of an image that was not consciously projected, but which reveals an experience of past struggles. It is almost as if the photographic plate of night refers to the Freudian unconscious that was so crucial for Lévi-Strauss's own theoretical development, as well as for theories of photography deriving from Freud's concept of the unconscious,[60] which Lévi-Strauss seems to otherwise disregard in his writing.

In no other passage of *Tristes tropiques* will photography appear on the side of the symbolic, capable of participating in that intermediary realm of signs that allows the anthropologist to make sense of the encoded world he encounters. On the contrary, emphasis falls on the unpredictable excesses captured by the photographic camera. As Christopher Pinney suggests, photography's "analogue modality and unavoidable capture of contingency made it too vast ('crammed' and 'exorbitant,' to recall Barthes) and too blank an object for a structuralism wedded to a linguistic binarism."[61] In the next section, I examine how the dangers of the photographic encounter are depicted in *Tristes tropiques* through photography and text.

THE CENTER, THE PICTURE, AND THE OTHER

Although more directly thematized in the beginning and final chapters of the book, the narrative of failure also figures in its middle chapters (chapters 5 to 8), which nonetheless follow a more chronological order, recounting the narrator's successive encounters with Indigenous groups in the backlands of Brazil. By following this structure that separates center and borders, *Tristes tropiques* seems to fit into Michel de Certeau's depiction of travel narratives' "rhetoric of distance."[62] In his essay "Montaigne's 'Of Cannibals,'" de Certeau suggests that travel

narratives are composed of two dimensions—a meta-discursive history and a descriptive depiction—that empower each other. According to de Certeau, the descriptive dimension of travel narratives, the ethnological "picture" which he describes as an "ahistorical image," emerges at the center of the usual accounts of the outward journey and of the return, establishing simultaneously the "strangeness" of the other and the authority of the text (*Heterologies*, 69). In depicting a structure that separates center and borders, de Certeau characterizes the Center, which he also calls the "picture," as a double exteriority—it is both the other of the narration and the body of the other.[63]

As if confirming Lévi-Strauss's own assertions about the photographic medium as somehow restrictive of subjective reorganization, the photographs included in *Tristes tropiques* do not exhibit the unforeseen correspondences that occur in remembrance. The photographic images emerge at the center of the text, in the sense that they mirror the chapters that narrate the anthropologist's encounter with Indigenous communities.[64] These photographs are divided into four series, which, mirroring the chapters, are named after the four main groups the expeditionaries encountered in Brazil: the Kadiwéu, Bororo, Nambikwara, and Tupi-Kawahib. None of the photographs that Lévi-Strauss took in the city of São Paulo or in Cuiabá, or in India or Pakistan, are shown. As his ordering of the photographs follows the chronological order of the voyage, it does not evince any effort to liberate them from the particularity of each encounter. To use de Certeau's vocabulary, the selection and arrangement of photographs in *Tristes tropiques* follows both the chronological, descriptive dimension of the Center and its focus on the body of the other.

Whereas most of the images reproduced are portraits of Indigenous people, the few landscapes included are used to establish the setting where the ethnographic encounter takes place. The photographic series begins with one such landscape, captioned "Virgin forest in Parana" (figure 3.4). The photograph shows two men on horseback, wearing hats, surrounded by an enormous dense forest. The image evokes those made by nineteenth-century explorers, in which heroic men appear small in relation to the wild and sublime nature around them. As if the image itself were not enough to establish this photograph within the genre of travel books, the caption utilizes the trope of the "virgin forest," the unconquered territory of the tropics. Following this image, the second photograph, "The Pantanal" (figure 3.5), shows the back of another man on a horse—an old trope of the expansion of Western

Figure 3.4. "Forêt vierge au Parana" ("Virgin forest in Parana"). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, 1936. Reproduced from Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996). Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

Figure 3.5. “Le Pantanal” (“The Pantanal”). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, 1936. Reproduced from Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996). Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

civilization—with the Pantanal wetlands ahead of him. Viewed in sequence, these photos suggest that the explorer is advancing into the territory, prevailing over the distance. In the third photo, we can see three Indigenous houses, which the title identifies as “Nalike, capital of the Kadiwéu country” (figure 3.6). Finally, the explorer arrives at an isolated village. Even though the first two photographs were taken during two different trips, when arranged in sequence the three images narrate a chronological voyage and the arrival at Nalike. The point of view is initially distant, gradually closing in until it frames the painted face of a Kadiwéu woman (figures 3.7 and 3.8). The arrangement is not casual: a similar structure that conjoins chronology with gradual approximation is repeated in the ethnographer’s encounters with the Bororo and the Tupi-Kawahib.

Also appropriating the structure of travel narratives, as described by de Certeau, Lévi-Strauss’s photographic portraits of Indigenous subjects, which comprise the majority of the photographs in the book, are framed in such a way that the Indigenous body appears at the center of the picture. When comparing other enlargements of some of these photos with the published version, one finds that the background and

Figure 3.6. “Nalike, capitale du pays Caduveo” (“Nalike, capital of the Kadiwéu country”). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, 1936. Reproduced from Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996). Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

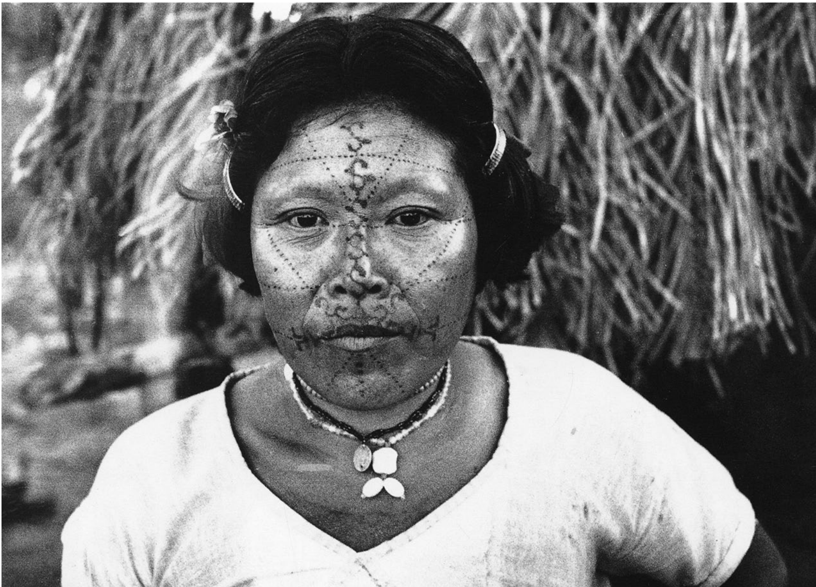


Figure 3.7. “Femmes Caduveo au visage peint” (“Kadiwéu woman with painted face”). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, 1936. Reproduced from Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996). Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

possible "disturbances" of the centrality of the body are cropped out (figures 3.8 and 3.9). A copy of the image of the "Kadiwéu woman with painted face" held at the Museé du Quai Branly, for example, shows that *Tristes tropiques*' print cropped out the presence of Dina Lévi-Strauss on the lower right side of the frame, lying in a hammock (figure 3.9). In other instances, the cropped-out element is less significant but confirms a pattern of centralizing the Indigenous body in the frame. One way of reading the cropping of these photographs relates to Lévi-Strauss's critique of the rawness of the photographic image, its inability to select and process sensory information. If the "physical, chemical, and mechanical constraints of the camera give him a very restricted freedom" in sifting and arranging "the profuse information that the outer world is

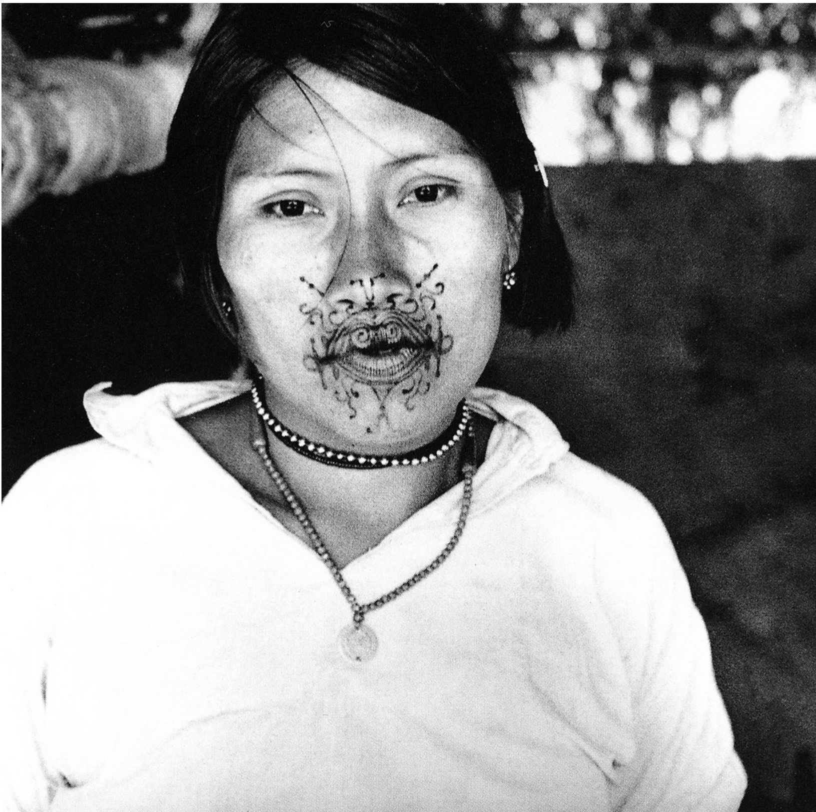


Figure 3.8. "Femmes Caduveo au visage peint" ("Kadiwéu woman with painted face"). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, 1936. Reproduced from Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996). Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

Figure 3.9. "'Kadiwéu woman with painted face' and Dina Lévi-Strauss in the background." Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, c. 1936. PF0024508. Copyright © Musée du Quai-Branly.

constantly sending out to assail sensory organs" ("To a Young Painter," 249), cropping is a way to omit at least some of this data.

Another way to read this cropping and the centralization of the Indigenous body in the frame brings us back to the tradition of ethnographic photography, against which Lévi-Strauss himself warns his reader. In the first part of *Tristes tropiques*, which de Certeau would call the meta-discursive border of the book, Lévi-Strauss emphasizes the falsification of travel photography, which makes tribes already decimated by diseases look exuberant, and assimilated groups look like isolated primitives by glossing over signs of their contact with white men, "but the existence of the latter can be deduced by a practiced eye from small details in the illustrations, since the photographer has not always been able to avoid including the rusty petrol cans in which this virgin people does its cooking" (39). In this passage, photography's rawness, its indexical nature, is responsible for an excess of information that can reveal the vestiges of previous contacts and betray the false exoticism that the adventurer wants to sell. This is exactly the case with the two prints of the Kadiwéu woman with painted face (figures 3.8 and 3.9).

Although these two readings seem at first glance to contradict one another, when taken together they point to a connection between photography's indexical excess and the corporeal encounter. If the indexical excess of photographic images helps expose the adventurer's falsifications, it does so by emphasizing the contingencies of the traces of the corporeal presence of the ethnographer/photographer in the field. Lévi-Strauss refrains from emphasizing the corporeal dimension of ethnographic contact in several ways. For example, although he is ostensibly constructing a subjective narrative, he does not publish any photographs of himself in the field. In this, he differs from the use of photographs in ethnographic accounts that stress the presence of the ethnographer in the field, such as Malinowski's photographs on the Trobriand Islands in the 1910s. In addition, the book includes very few images revealing the presence of any of the expeditionaries in Indigenous villages: There are only three images of their trips by horse and boat and a single photo in which one can see parts of their camping setup. In this last photograph, the tent is seen from afar, obscured by trees. This scarcity of images of the expeditionaries contrasts with the photographs left out of the book, which portray, for example, Dina and Claude Lévi-Strauss having a meal, or the classic scene of the exchange of gifts, which had been readily publicized in the photographs of the Rondon Commission. The lack of emphasis on the corporeal dimension of the encounter also contrasts with the photographs taken by Luiz de Castro Faria, which frame the broader daily life of the expedition, including many of the workers that made it possible. Among them, there are photographs of Dina Lévi-Strauss taking notes while laborers fixed their broken truck and of Claude Lévi-Strauss photographing a Nambikwara who poses with his bow and arrow. There are images of the expeditionaries talking to employees of the telegraph stations, which, as Castro Faria's archives reveal, were not only ruinous and obsolete, but served as an important source of information for the expedition. Castro Faria also registered in photographs his visit to an old, decadent rubber station which used to be one of the most important in the region. After describing briefly the exploitative system of the rubber trade, and its precarious, unlucrative status in the 1930s, he explains that some of the *seringueiros* ended up becoming farmers, forming small groups of "laborious, stable communities around the telegraph stations,"[65] where the Nambikwara also circulated.

One could say that in his selection, arrangement, and cropping of photographs, Lévi-Strauss does not differ from the exoticizing tenden-

cies of the travel books he criticizes. It is important, however, to take a closer look at the chapters that accompany these images in order to understand whether and how the encounters that are pictured are described in writing. Do these chapters follow de Certeau's suggestion that the center of travel narratives is marked by the descriptive dimension, confirming a double exteriority of the Indigenous body? Or do they play with that structure in order to subvert it? And if so, is this effort successful? How do the written descriptions of Indigenous groups interact with the photographs? Some scholars have argued that Lévi-Strauss experiments with a symbolist style of writing only at the beginning and end of the book: while the borders of the book follow a fragmentary and non-chronological temporal logic—that of remembrance—the central chapters focus, in chronological order, and "at ease in matter-of-fact reportage,"[66] on a series of figures of otherness. I argue that, more than forgetting the epistemological impasses present in the beginning and end chapters, however, these middle chapters seem to stage the central trial for the ethnographer as writer: in them, he attempts to affirm the possibility of acquiring knowledge from an experience of loss, expressing the meaning "conceived by an architect wiser than my personal history," while at the same time that he continues to represent what he sees as only traces, remnants, and shadows of societies. In other words, he attempts to read in these debris and shadows the memory of symbolic worlds.

A closer look at these chapters shows that each of them teaches the narrator a lesson about ethnography and anthropology, about loss brought about by the experience of contact, and about knowledge that can only be acquired as a result of this contact.

Fragments of Symbolic Worlds and the Danger of the Performative Primitive

Lévi-Strauss's first ethnographic encounter is with the Kaingang, in Paraná, during a quick trip about which he said, in a letter to Marcel Mauss on November 10, 1935, that it had "unfortunately, a more touristic than ethnographic interest . . . the cultural, and above all physical, decay is terrifying."[67] As if to confirm that this was not a true ethnographic experience, the Kaingang do not have a section of the book dedicated to them. Instead, this encounter is narrated in a chapter called "Paraná" in part 4, which is titled "Kadiwéu." As opposed to what Lévi-Strauss wrote in his letter to Mauss, in *Tristes tropiques* the trip is presented as having some ethnographic interest in the sense that it

provided a useful lesson on the true state of Indigenous communities in the twentieth century. The narrator tells us how, having first become victims of violent contact, and then subjected to governmental efforts of assimilation through the SPI, the group had finally been left to their own devices. Neither primitive nor civilized, they bore traces of both worlds: "I wondered about the provenance of the beautifully polished stone pestles which I found in native houses, mixed up with enamelled tin plates, cheap spoons and even—occasionally—the skeletal remains of a sewing-machine . . . the old techniques, too, are preserved as half-conscious memories" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 155). Overall, the lesson he takes from this rehearsal of an ethnographic experience is that although external appearances might be misleading, there is always something to learn even from those whose "decay is terrifying," for there is always a memory, a vestige of what they once were (154–55). Lévi-Strauss did not publish any photo of the Kaingang in *Tristes tropiques* (although he did publish them forty years later, in *Saudades do Brasil*). He did not show photographs of what he describes as the beautifully polished stone pestles among enameled tin plates, of the men and women wearing ragged shirts and cotton dresses (156) and sleeping in the open next to the unused houses built by the Brazilian government, or of the "antiquated guns and pistols once distributed by the government . . . hanging in the deserted houses" (155). Instead, using pictorial representation to isolate the object of ethnographic interest, he printed an illustration of their pottery along with the text.

After this initiation, Lévi-Strauss made the two trips—the first in 1935–36 and the second in 1938—that represent his "true" fieldwork experiences, and these are illustrated by photographs. As Debaene remarks, although these trips were separated in time by more than a year, what happened in between is not emphasized, and they are portrayed as one symbolic journey or itinerary in which the traveler goes deeper into the territory in search of an untouched primitive society.[68] In the first trip Lévi-Strauss established contact with two Indigenous communities—the Kadiwéu, along the Paraguayan border, and the "better-known but still promising" Bororo, in the central Mato Grosso—and these are described by Lévi-Strauss as his most fruitful experiences in anthropological analysis.[69]

According to Lévi-Strauss, the Kadiwéu in many respects had fallen into a similar state of cultural and material destitution as the Kaingang, plagued by alcoholism and reduced to the impoverished life of Brazilian peasant ranchers. They are described as "ragged peasants" (*Tristes*

Tropiques, 177), but also as the "last survivors" of "the great warlike tribes who formerly controlled the area" (165). Although far removed from "the prosperity that Guido Boggiani had found there forty years before" (173), however, some elements of their material culture had survived. Lévi-Strauss brought many of the Kadiwéu's decorated ceramics to the recently founded Musée de L'Homme and was especially intrigued by the enigmatic nature of the symbolism at work in Kadiwéu body painting (10), of which he took many photographs. Aside from photographing painted Kadiwéu bodies and faces, Lévi-Strauss collected more than four hundred drawings made by the Kadiwéu themselves on sheets of paper. In *Tristes tropiques* he published two photographic portraits of Kadiwéu women, followed by a drawing made by the ethnologist and painter Guido Boggiani of a Kadiwéu woman with a painted face (figure 3.10), and painting motifs drawn by Kadiwéu women on sheets of paper given to them by Lévi-Strauss (figure 3.11). The sequence concludes with a portrait of a young Kadiwéu woman dressed for a puberty ritual.

Whereas the Kadiwéu designs provided an excellent subject for structuralist analysis, which Lévi-Strauss had already discussed in a 1944 article,[70] these motifs were also a perfect example of the archeological temporality that characterizes *Tristes tropiques*: they were remnants of an evanescent art form whose long history could only be proved by comparison with images made by Boggiani in the nineteenth century.[71]

Lévi-Strauss offers an interpretation of the Kadiwéu designs in *Tristes tropiques* after narrating how he started photographing a few Kadiwéu women but soon decided to put aside his camera. According to the narrator, his initial intention was to collect all of the many Kadiwéu painting designs by photographing the women's faces, "but the financial demands of the ladies of the tribe would soon have exhausted my resources" (186), so he started to ask the women to draw the patterns on paper instead. Asked to draw one of her designs, a Kadiwéu woman begins by tracing the outline of a face. Intriguingly, she represents it with a deep declivity in the middle of the forehead. Lévi-Strauss sees this as evidence that this Kadiwéu painter conceived of the human face as made up of two conjoined profiles. The observation leads him to conclude that the designs are not simply placed on the face but are rather interrelated to it in complex ways. On the one hand, the designs and the face are opposed in the sense that the designs modify the structure of the face and distort it in a quasi-sadistic manner. On the other hand, it is only by being painted that the face acquires its specifically human dignity and spiritual significance. Lévi-Strauss relates an anecdote told by the eighteenth-century Jesuit missionary Sanchez Labrador. When

asked why they painted themselves, the Kadiwéu are alleged to have replied that unpainted human beings are "stupid," indistinguishable from mere animals. Boris Wiseman argues that at the heart of Lévi-Strauss's interpretation is a theory of personhood as a mask, in the sense that the designs "make" their faces, which the Kadiwéu believe are predestined to receive them; unpainted, human beings remain incomplete.[72]

In addition to his graphic analysis of the paintings, in discussing the duality of nature/culture, Lévi-Strauss interprets the splitting of the face in Kadiwéu art as the expression of an ideology that is common in certain rigidly stratified societies in which the display of rank and position is all-important. His understanding stems from comparison: like other local groups such as the Guana and the Bororo, the Kadiwéu had a rigid three-caste system that largely limited social cohesion within the group. However, these other societies found a solution to counterbalance the threat of inbreeding and increasing gradation in hierarchies: the societies were further divided into moieties that cut across the class systems. A man from one moiety had to marry a woman from another. "It is fair to say, then, that the asymmetry of the classes was, in a sense, counterbalanced by the symmetry of the moieties" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 196), writes Lévi-Strauss, and he goes on to posit that due to their fanatical devotion to hierarchy, etiquette, and nobility, the Mbaya, from whom the Kadiwéu were descended, did not adopt the same solution. Instead, they dreamed of it and translated the problem into art: their paintings, with their symmetric and asymmetric patterns, mirror the combination of caste and moieties found in the Bororo social system. In sum, Lévi-Strauss interprets the Kadiwéu designs as a representation of institutions that the Kadiwéu lacked, "as the phantasm of a society ardently and insatiably seeking a means of expressing symbolically the institutions it might have, if its interests and superstitions did not stand in the way" (198). Surprisingly, the most similar artistic expression to that of Kadiwéu art is, according to Lévi-Strauss, the design of Western card games, which he analyzes through a reading of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (179–80).

This long detour to describe Lévi-Strauss's interpretation of Kadiwéu art as the recomposition of the face, which is both unique and part of a larger human "repertoire,"[73] can help us understand the set of intricate concepts that underpin his critique of photography. In contrast to the Kadiwéu art form, which for Lévi-Strauss was the expression of a collective need and functioned as a transformation of the physical body into culture, he considers photographs to be contingent and unique in their adherence to the unprocessed physical world.

Let us now take a closer look at the images published in this chapter. As I mentioned earlier, the photographs in *Tristes tropiques* are organized into four chapters, which correspond exactly to the four middle parts of the book, titled after the Kadiwéu, Bororo, Nambikwara, and Tupi-Kawahib peoples. These four photographic sequences are printed on glossy paper, separate from the text, at the end of the book. The drawings, in contrast, are usually reproduced within the text. In the case of the Kadiwéu, however, drawings are printed both within the text and in the photographic sequence. More specifically, the two photographic portraits of Kadiwéu women are followed by an 1895 drawing of a Kadiwéu woman with a painted face made by Guido Boggiani (figure 3.10) and three drawings made by Kadiwéu women themselves in 1895 and 1935

Figure 3.10. "La cognata di Giuansigno" ("Juancito's sister-in-law"). Drawing by Guido Boggiani, c. 1895. Reproduced from Guido Boggiani, *Viaggi d'un artista nell'America Meridionale: I Caduvei, Mbaya o Guaicurú* (Rome: Ermanno Loescher, 1895), 154.

(figure 3.11). Why publish these drawings along with the photographs? One interpretation is that the inclusion of Boggiani's drawing allows Lévi-Strauss to confirm the persistence of Kadiwéu motifs throughout the decades, hence taking part in what Luciana Martins describes as the transformation of Kadiwéu ephemeral art into archeological vestige.[74] The drawings made by Kadiwéu women are an important part of the analytic and narrative dimensions of the chapter, since it is through his perception that the drawings ignore the contours of the human face that Lévi-Strauss comes up with his theory of the deformation of the face. Moreover, it is possible that the repetition of images of the Kadiwéu motifs in varied media and made by different subjects acts in the book to shift the focus away from the individual woman whose face

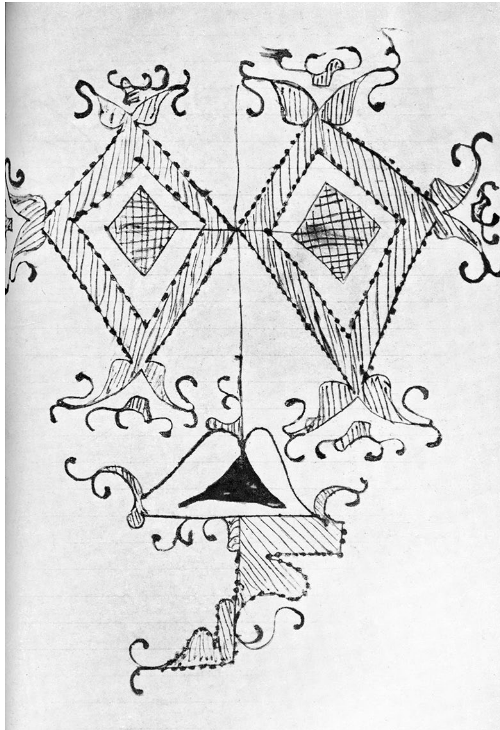


Figure 3.11. "Peinture de visage: Dessin original d'une femme Caduveo" ("Facial painting: An original drawing by a Kadiwéu woman"), c. 1895. Reproduced from Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques* (Paris: Plon, 1955). Copyright © Monique Lévi-Strauss.

is represented and also away from any singular experience of contact, directing it toward the Kadiwéu pattern instead. The main argument espoused in one of the longest commentaries on Lévi-Strauss's photographs in *Tristes tropiques*, Jay Prosser's *Light in the Dark Room*, is that the assemblage of photographs along with other "encoded forms," such as drawing, diagrams, or writing, is a sign of Lévi-Strauss's attempt to "transubstantiate" the photographic referent into code.[75]

To these interpretations I will add another, which attempts to clarify the phenomenology of the kind of ethnographic contact that is rejected by Lévi-Strauss and which, at the same time, complicates this division between body and code. This division can be foreseen in Lévi-Strauss's interpretation of Kadiwéu art, in which, as Wiseman argues, the transformed body is the artwork. In this respect, far from being composed of purely abstract designs, Kadiwéu art exists only on the living bodies that provide a "figurative" element to it. However, these living bodies do not cease to pose problems for Lévi-Strauss. Having been assimilated and thus having forgotten the practices and meanings of their social and symbolic worlds, the Kadiwéu performed a false spectacle of primitiveness for the anthropologist, whose actual interest resided only in paintings that had survived the decadence of the Kadiwéu mode of life. Lévi-Strauss manifested a certain skepticism, for example, towards the fact that in the puberty ritual of a Kadiwéu girl, she was dressed in traditional clothing, had her face and body painted, and had "all the necklaces that they could lay hands on" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 176) strung around her neck.

Interestingly, the camera appears in this chapter as a privileged trigger for these false spectacles:

> Young anthropologists are taught that natives are afraid of having their image caught in a photograph, and that it is proper to overcome this fear and compensate them for the risk they think they are taking by making them a present in money or in kind. The Kadiweu had perfected the system: not only did they insist on being paid before allowing themselves to be photographed; they forced me to photograph them so that I should have to pay. Hardly a day went by but a woman came to me in some extraordinary get-up and obliged me, whether I wanted to or not, to pay her photographic homage, accompanied by a few milreis. Being anxious not to waste my film, I often just went through the motions and handed over the money. (*Tristes Tropiques*, 176)

The Kadiwéu women, according to Lévi-Strauss, not only requested money to be photographed, but performed primitiveness in front of the camera. In response to the Kadiwéu women's performance, Lévi-Strauss refuses to photograph them. But by refusing to waste his film, the ethnologist seems to adhere to the idea that photography can be an instrument to generate objective documents of an authentic anthropological object, which is precisely the reason why he dislikes photography in the first place. Not only does he refuse to take a photograph, but he goes a step further and pretends to take them. Similar to the Kadiwéu women, who want a reward for posing as "native," the ethnologist wants his investment in photography to be rewarded in the form of ethnographic value. In order not to waste his film, he performs his role as an ethnographer, by pretending he is photographing. Only by acting out their own roles can each side gain something from the encounter. Even though it is presented as an anecdote, the episode is metonymic. Does it not, after all, speak about all photography and about every ethnographic encounter?

The photo-ethnographic encounter here could serve as a lesson on the notion of ethnographic contact itself: it allows for a critique of the ethnographer's search for the authentic Indigenous subject. Instead of a critique based on a discourse of loss, it builds on the evolving interaction between the actors in an encounter. The Kadiwéu women hope that by acting as anthropological objects, they will get something valuable in return, so they pose. They become an ethnographic image before the "click" of the camera. This performative character of the photo-ethnographic contact is not unrelated to its indexical aspect; rather, it is intrinsic to it. To use Roland Barthes's words in *Camera Lucida*, if photography "always carries its referent with itself,"[76] always attesting to a presence, this referent cannot be thought of as separate from the photographic event itself. By dissociating "indexicality" from "objectivity," Barthes challenges the temporal understanding of photographic representation as a gathering of data, in which there is, first, an external referent that is later transformed into an image.

> In front of the lens, I am at the same time: the one I think I am, the one I want others to think I am, the one the photographer thinks I am, and the one he makes use of to exhibit his art. In other words, a strange action: I do not stop imitating myself, and because of this, each time I am (or let myself be) photographed, I invariably suffer from a sensation of in-

> authenticity, sometimes of imposture (comparable to certain nightmares). (*Camera Lucida*, 13)

Thus, Lévi-Strauss discredits photography for being both uncoded and falsifying, both empirical and spectacular. The flip side of his denial of photography's appeal to objectivity is the potential falsity of the photo-ethnographic encounter. The photographic image is not only a trap for knowledge—for one should resist seeking in the individual body the answers to anthropology's questions—it is also susceptible to the corrupting power of the camera, as well as to the dangers of the seductive performative games played by the Kadiwéu. Aside from the positivist risk of staying at the level of the description of "insipid details" or the danger of succumbing to the illusion of exoticism and the seduction of images, another risk inherent in the photo-ethnographic contact is the performative native, who threatens observation by reinventing herself for the eyes of the anthropologist.

This mix of danger and seduction is present in the story of the encounter between the Kadiwéu and Guido Boggiani, an Italian painter, photographer, and ethnologist who traveled through the interiors of Brazil, Bolivia, and Paraguay at the end of the nineteenth century and suffered a tragic death. Although Lévi-Strauss cites Boggiani several times, he does not publish his photographs or mention the story of his death. Boggiani was killed in 1902 by Kadiwéu individuals who, according to legend, believed that his use of a photographic camera was responsible for the plagues that had fallen upon their people.[77]

In *Tristes tropiques*, the fear of being seduced and betrayed by the posing Kadiwéu, who demand to be paid for the recording of their image, is strongly present. Being painted on the body, and intrinsic to the composition of the face, the Kadiwéu designs become a sort of phenomenological trap for the photographer. In an attempt to overcome this threat, reclaim his role as an ethnologist, and recover his lost object, Lévi-Strauss concludes the passage about the photographic performance of the Kadiwéu by restoring the rightful position of each player in the game of representation:

> However, it would have been bad anthropological practice to resist this behaviour, or even to consider it as a proof of decadence or money mindedness. It represented the re-emergence, in a transposed form, of certain specific features of Indian society: the independence and authority of women

> of high birth, ostentatious behaviour in front of strangers, and the insistence on homage from ordinary mortals. The attire might be freakish and improvised, but the behaviour which prompted it was no less significant because of that; it was my business to see how it fitted into the framework of traditional institutions. (*Tristes Tropiques*, 176–77)

Again, what matters to the ethnographer is to find in the present day traces of the past, or, rather, of a persistent expression of a symbolic world.

While the Kadiwéu's body paintings were an enigma, being at the same time remnants of the past and a window that opened onto a system of social relations that no longer existed, the second group contacted by the Lévi-Strauss couple, the Bororo, presented a complete spectacle, "a society which is still alive and faithful to its traditions" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 215). Lévi-Strauss subjects the Bororo to a detailed anthropological analysis that engages in both universalization and comparison. "Intensive ceremonial activity both day and night," and the display of "fantastic adornments"[78] provide the perfect setting for ethnographic work.

In the foreword to the third volume of the *Enciclopédia Bororo*, Lévi-Strauss explains how "that brief encounter marked [his] entire career":

> The Bororo offered me not only the contemplation of a wonderful spectacle. The entirety of my theoretical thinking, as it has developed in the last thirty years, maintains the core of what I seemed to have understood amongst them: how a human society can attempt to unify in a vast system—both social and logical—the whole of the relations among their own members and those relations they keep, as a group, with the natural species and the world that surrounds them.

This mention of a "wonderful spectacle" is remarkable in the context of *Tristes tropiques*' critique of exoticism. If there is any passage in which epistemological impasses are suspended, it is in Lévi-Strauss's description of the Bororo. In an interview in the 1960s, Lévi-Strauss affirmed that he saw in the Bororo "a society that had abolished time, and after all what greater nostalgia could we have than to abolish time and then to live in a sort of present tense which is a constantly revitalized past and preserved as it was dreamt in myth and belief."[79] This seems to translate well into what Johannes Fabian calls anthropology's "denial

of coevalness,"[80] that is, the denial that anthropologist and interlocutor exist in the same present. Not surprisingly, Lévi-Strauss's description of the Bororo has been widely criticized. Clifford Geertz claims that Lévi-Strauss reproduces exactly what he denounces,[81] while in *Photography and Documentary Film in the Making of Modern Brazil*, Luciana Martins argues that Lévi-Strauss "turn[s] a blind eye to the Bororo's recent history"[82] and obliterates a certain logic in the self-representation of a group that was studied by a series of travelers from Nicolas-Antoine Taunay, Hercules Florence, and Marc Ferrez to Karl von den Steinen and the documentarist Aloha Baker, among others.

Luciana Martins uses as an example the photograph "The author's best informant, in ceremonial dress" (figure 3.12), one of the most famous photographs taken by Lévi-Strauss, which also appeared in an article of his on the social organization of the Bororo in the *Journal de la Societé des Américanistes* in 1936.[83] The image was used on the front cover of many editions of *Tristes tropiques* and was later republished in *Saudades do Brasil*. Martins carefully delineates the many roles that Roberto Ipureu, the "ideal informant" photographed by Lévi-Strauss, had performed for travelers, as an informant for the German-Brazilian anthropologist Herbert Baldus in 1935, and as an actor in Aloha Bak-

Figure 3.12. "Le meilleur informateur de l'auteur, en tenue de cérémonie" ("The author's best informant, in ceremonial dress"). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, 1936. Reproduced from Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996). Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

er's film *A vida de uma aldeia Bororo*. The "performativity" of Ipureu, highlighted by Martins, is not without relation to the Bororo's historically resilient way of dealing with contact, which, as Sylvia Caiuby Novaes points out, was also a strategy to preserve their own traditions.[84]

If we read closely the entirety of part 6 of *Tristes tropiques*, which is dedicated to the Bororo, we find that Lévi-Strauss does not entirely ignore the Bororo's performativity, but he treats it differently from that of the Kadiwéu. The part's first chapter narrates the path that leads the anthropologist to the Bororo village. Titled "Gold and Diamonds," the chapter describes the city of Cuiabá, historically marked by gold fever, in which even today one can find "grains of gold dust everywhere" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 205). His description of adults and children who still search for these "tiny brilliant particles" (205) echoes the passage in which, faced with the loss of the dreamed object of anthropology, the narrator nonetheless affirms that "dreams, 'the god of the savages,' as the old missionaries used to say, have always slipped through my fingers like quicksilver. But a few shining particles may have remained stuck, here and there" (42). The anthropologist in this chapter is partly an archeologist and partly a twentieth-century gold prospector who will eventually find what he is searching for.

A few pages into the chapter, Lévi-Strauss recounts his journey through the central Brazilian plateau, a landscape described as dreamlike and so vast that on the second day of travel one had the impression of repeating the same path as the day before, so that "perception and memory are fused in a kind of obsessive immobility" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 209). As if to make sure that the attentive reader is able to relate this passage to the anthropologist's description of his crossing of the Atlantic for the first time—that moment in which he daydreams of overcoming loss, of a correspondence between past and present as well as between the sensory and the symbolic—the narrator describes how in this "territory—one of the oldest in the world," the "traditional roles of the sky and the earth are reversed" (209). In echoing the earlier diary description of the spectacle of twilight, the narrator sets the stage for his encounter with the "wonderful spectacle" provided by the Bororo.

Loss, however, is a constant presence. Throughout the plateau, Lévi-Strauss encounters impoverished gold miners and phantom Brazilian communities decimated by disease. The dream of encountering the past only returns when he sees the first Bororos painted from head to toe with *urucum*. Lévi-Strauss then arrives at Kejara, a Bororo village described as "one of the last not to have been much affected by the activities of the

Salesian Fathers," who "had both carried out excellent anthropological research . . . and at the same time pursued the systematic obliteration of native culture" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 216). An ambiguity arises as to whether the reader should understand the Kejaras as untouched natives or as wily survivors. Lévi-Strauss wonders whether the chief of the Kejara, for example, really doesn't speak Portuguese or (in a recognition of the chief's agency) is just pretending not to know the language. The chief also refuses to communicate with Lévi-Strauss "except through the members of his council" (216). But in Kejara there lives "a native" (215) who speaks Portuguese and becomes Lévi-Strauss's interpreter and best informant. The narrator explains that Roberto Ipureu had been a pupil in a mission and was even sent to Rome, where he met the pope. Having been forced upon his return from Rome to be wedded in a Christian marriage ceremony, Ipureu had decided to reconvert to "the old Bororo ideal"; he "settled in Kejara where, for the last ten or fifteen years, he had been living an exemplary savage life" (216).

Although it is not my intention here to rescue Lévi-Strauss from accusations that he is exoticizing and de-historicizing the Bororo, it is important to recognize how he does this. In this respect, I cannot avoid pointing out that he suggests that Ipureu chose to be a "savage" in the same way that the chief might be just choosing to not speak Portuguese. The major difference he finds in comparing the Kadiwéu women's performance to that of the Bororo, however, is that the Bororo deliver what the anthropologist is seeking. Their "wonderful spectacle" is based on memory and tradition; hence, the anthropologist accepts it and only fleetingly considers the historical development of the ritual presented to him or the effect of his own presence on their behavior.

As opposed to the chapter on the Kadiwéu, the photographs in the Bororo chapter show them performing a number of different activities, dances, and rituals. There are eight photographs in total. The first is a photograph of the village from a distance, with, as the captions point out, the men's house at the center, followed by a "Bororo couple" and "the author's best informant, in ceremonial dress" (figure 3.12). The referents identified by the captions are all exemplary types. The next photograph shows Bororo men in the "men's house," which, since it is central to the Bororo's social organization and ritual preparations, is subjected to a long explanation in Lévi-Strauss's text. In all of the images showing Bororo dances and rituals, they usually do not look into the camera and the frame does not isolate them as if they were posing, but rather as if caught in the midst of their everyday activities

(figure 3.13). It is as if the ethnographer were the privileged spectator of a spectacle not performed for him. An exception can be found in the photograph "Bringing out the mariddo," in which a child appears to find the photographer a more interesting spectacle than the Bororo ritual (figure 3.14).

Years later, Lévi-Strauss explained to a documentary crew that the lesson he learned among the Bororo was a lesson on structuralism:

> I have the feeling now when I try to reconstitute my intellectual history—it's very difficult because I have a terrible memory—I have the feeling that I was always what later became known as a "structuralist" even when I was a child. But meeting the Bororo who were the great theoreticians of structuralism—that was a godsend for me![85]

The Bororo were not only teachers of structuralism, they also provided Lévi-Strauss with the elaborate garments that he took back to the Musée de l'Homme, as well as his most impressive photographs of primitive spectacles. The images and objects he collected during this expedition were crucial in legitimating his reputation as an anthropologist: "One

Figure 3.13. "Danse funèbre" ("Funeral dance"). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, c. 1936. Reproduced from Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996). Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

Figure 3.14. "La sortie du mariddo" ("Bringing out the mariddo"). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, c. 1936. Reproduced from Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996). Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

year after my visit to the Bororo, all the required conditions for turning me into a fully fledged anthropologist had been fulfilled" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 249). For the anthropologist, the Bororo were gold.

History and Otherness

Following the relative success of their encounters with the Kadiwéu and the Bororo and their instructive lessons on anthropology, and after publishing a much-praised article on the Bororo and organizing an exhibition of their collections of artifacts and photos, the Lévi-Strausses departed for what they planned as a much longer voyage into the deep backlands of Brazil, where they hoped to find the Nambikwara and the Tupi-Kawahib. The so-called Serra do Norte expedition of 1938 would start where the previous one had ended, following the telegraph line constructed by the Rondon Commission. The Lévi-Strausses were joined by Luiz de Castro Faria and the French doctor and naturalist Jean Vellard. The outcome of this second voyage, however, was much more somber than the previous one, and its lessons bring us back to the narrative of failure. Together, the Nambikwara and the last group they visit, the Tupi-Kawahib, teach the young anthropologist a double

lesson: one cannot know the object of anthropology either as past or as other. Pure exteriority is, ultimately, incomprehensible.

The Nambikwara represent the narrator's best hope of encountering "the infancy of the human species" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 274): "I had been looking for a society reduced to its simplest expression. That of the Nambikwara was so truly simple that all I could find in it was individual human beings" (318). In addition to being primitive, however, they had also been decimated, infected with diseases, and left in a state of complete destitution. Lévi-Strauss notes that they slept on the ground and, on cold nights, on the warm ashes, which accumulated on their skin (292). The description of the Nambikwara takes us back to the beginning of *Tristes tropiques*, when the narrator asks himself if he is the only one to recognize that he had returned from his ethnographic voyage with nothing but a "handful of ashes" (41).

> The visitor camping with the Indians in the bush for the first time, is filled with anguish and pity at the sight of human beings so totally bereft; some relentless cataclysm seems to have crushed them against the ground in a hostile land, leaving them naked and shivering by their flickering fires. . . . But the wretchedness is shot through with whisperings and chuckles. The couples embrace as if seeking to recapture a lost unity, and their caresses continue uninterrupted as he goes by. (*Tristes Tropiques*, 293)

The language Lévi-Strauss uses to describe the Nambikwara, with its proliferation of adjectives, is saturated with emotion. Ethnographer and primitive nearly reach a point where the distance required to see patterns and similarities is eliminated. The Nambikwara, for Lévi-Strauss, remained a sad expression of human precariousness and presented "the most truthful and moving expression of human love" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 293).[86] The number of published photographs of the Nambikwara in the book, 28 in total, is significantly higher than that of any other group (6 for the Kadiwéu, 8 for the Bororo, and 16 for the Tupi-Kawahib). Whereas in the chapter about the Kadiwéu, frontal portraits showing their painted faces prevail, as if it were possible to abstract the individual body, and the photographs of Bororos focus on ritual garments and spectacles, the images of Nambikwaras suggest the ethnographer's intimate contact with individual lives: a mother and a child embrace in their sleep, a girl smiles at the photographer, three young people embrace on the ground (figures 3.15 and 3.16).

Figure 3.15. "Sourire nambikwara" ("A Nambikwara smile"). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, c. 1938. Reproduced from Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996). Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

In sequence these close shots, however, begin to show a pattern, which is highlighted by the captions: "a woman breastfeeding," "the siesta," "conjugal play," "way of carrying a baby." It seems like it is in their body language that Lévi-Strauss searches for meaning.[87] If in the case of the Kadiwéu, the unavoidable Indigenous body poses a danger in its (corrupted) photographic performativity, in the case of the Nambikwara, the sensuous performative is the subject of the photographic series.

In the chapter's narrative, Lévi-Strauss describes the Nambikwara, who fulfill his desire to encounter the origins of humankind, as happy, kind, and childlike, innocent victims of the advance of civilization, and also extremely seductive:

Figure 3.16. "Tendres ébats" ("Tender fights"). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, c. 1938. Reproduced from Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996). Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

> It was difficult, for instance, to remain indifferent to the sight of one or more pretty girls sprawling stark naked in the sand and laughing mockingly as they wriggled at my feet. When I went bathing in the river, I was often embarrassed by a concerted attack on the part of half-a-dozen or so females—young or old—whose one idea was to appropriate my soap, of which they were extremely fond. (*Tristes Tropiques*, 286)

In the photographs the bodies of the Nambikwaras touch each other, and the gaze of the camera almost touches their skin, suggesting an affective or erotic contact. However, eroticism presents its own dangers: the photographs that expose most clearly this erotic contact and its effect on the anthropologist are left out of *Tristes tropiques*. A photograph published only in *Saudades do Brasil* (1994), for example, shows the breast of an Indigenous girl right in its center, her body inclined in the direction of the camera, while her head is outside of the frame (figure 3.17). The photograph presents us not so much with an object but with the gaze that falls upon it, a gaze that gets so close to its object that it risks becoming tactile. Almost abolishing the distance that

Figure 3.17. ". . . gaies le plus souvent . . ." ("Mostly happy"). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, c. 1938. In Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Saudades do Brasil* (Paris: Plon, 1994), 144. Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

separates the camera and the photographed, this image points to the danger of a sensuous contact that threatens to obscure vision itself. The image reminds us that photography, simultaneously optical and chemical, bodily triggered and optically framed, represents both contact and distance, touch and vision, much like the ethnographic contact itself. It also speaks of the desire and fascination involved in the experience of contact, the desire for the other and the desire, in Michael Taussig's words, to "become Other."[88]

In another photograph published only in *Saudades do Brasil*, the river-bathing scene described in the text of *Tristes tropiques* is incorporated as its theme (figure 3.18). The photo might have been taken by someone else, or by Lévi-Strauss using a self-timing mechanism. Lévi-Strauss is shown having a bath among Nambikwara children, his white torso turned to the camera, contrasting with the dark bodies around him. His white body glows, as does his white towel in the upper-left corner of the photo. The image enacts the desire both to merge into the other and to remain separate. In Lévi-Strauss's bath, the white man appears vulnerable and exotic in his nudity.

Lévi-Strauss did not publish these images in *Tristes tropiques*. Moreover, he captioned the photographs he did print with "useful" infor-

Figure 3.18. "On se baigne le matin au réveil et à d'autres moments de la journée, ici en compagnie de l'ethnologue" ("Bathing happens in the morning and in other times of the day. Here, a bath with the ethnologist"). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, c. 1938. In Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Saudades do Brasil* (Paris: Plon, 1994), 126. Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

mation about typical costumes, activities, family relations, and body postures. Regardless of the chapter's narrative of failure, the photographs were printed in a way that tried to recapture their value for future anthropological analysis.

When he visits the Tupi-Kawahib, the ethnographer is presented with the "thrilling prospect of being the first white man to visit a particular native community" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 325–26): "After an enchanting trip up-river, I had certainly found my savages. Alas! They were only too savage. . . . They were as close to me as a reflection in a mirror; I could touch them, but I could not understand them" (333). In the selection of

images of the Tupi-Kawahib, almost all of the portraits have a blurred background and are cropped so as to center their subjects in the middle. In most of them, the subjects do not gaze back at the viewer; they are absorbed in their own activities or thoughts, as if no reciprocity were possible (figures 3.19 and 3.20).

The encounter with the Mundé, a Tupi-Kawahib group, "never before mentioned in any anthropological study" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 331), talks about the impossibility of encountering absolute alterity: "I could make no use of it, since I was incapable of even grasping what it consisted of" (333). If the Kadiwéu are archeological debris, the Bororo are gold, the Nambikwara are ashes, and the Mundé are mirrors: "Perhaps, then, this was what travelling was, an exploration of the deserts of my

Figure 3.19. "Portrait de Taperahi, le chef Tupi-Kawahib" ("Portrait of Taperahi, the Tupi-Kawahib chief"). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, c. 1938. Reproduced from Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996). Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

Figure 3.20. “Kunhatsin, femme principale de Taperahi, portant son enfant” (“Kunhatsin, Taperahi’s main wife, carrying her child”). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, c. 1938. Reproduced from Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996). Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

mind rather than of those surrounding me?" (378). Throughout his second journey for fieldwork, which was briefer than Lévi-Strauss had expected due to illnesses and accidents, the anthropologist, who had faced the mirror of the Mundé's inscrutable eyes, finds himself immersed in images and sounds from his own culture:

> On the plateau of the western Mato Grosso, I had been haunted for weeks, not by the things that lay all around me and that I would never see again, but by a hackneyed melody, weakened still further by the deficiencies of my memory—the melody of Chopin's Etude no. 3, opus 10, which, by a bitterly ironical twist of which I was well aware, now seemed to epitomize all I had left behind. (*Tristes Tropiques*, 376–77)

In the last pages of *Tristes tropiques*, Lévi-Strauss returns to the epistemological question he discusses in the beginning, offering a solution to its impasses through a reading of Rousseau, whom he calls "the most anthropological of the philosophes" (390). Lévi-Strauss reminds us that far from idealizing the state of nature, Rousseau conceived "origin" merely as a necessary hypothesis. Like his predecessor, Lévi-Strauss argues that the knowledge of humanity's beginnings is not a knowledge of "man" outside society—for such a creature would, by definition, not be a "man"—but of a common state in which all possible societies are contained. Responding to accusations of being both an apolitical relativist and a naive primitivist, he turns to Rousseau to argue that the state of nature is not historically or geographically located, but rather that it represents the human potential for creating social orders. Thus, returning to a primitive state is what, in us, would allow for the creation of an alternative society. This political stance, however, is accompanied by historical pessimism: by creating a monoculture, modern man is destroying what makes possible the recognition of this common ground, which is, in turn, what allows for the existence of diversity itself. By following the Rondon telegraph line into the depths of Brazil, Lévi-Strauss was confronted by the destructive, failed project of modernization, of which Indigenous peoples and their cultures were the victims.

Saudades do Brasil

In order to explore Lévi-Strauss's selection of photographs in *Tristes tropiques*, it is important to think about what he omitted. He did not in-

clude, for example, an image of a Kadiwéu boy with a face painted just "for fun," since traditionally only the women were painted (*Saudades do Brasil*, 73), or the photograph of a girl carrying her sibling, showing, much like Luiz de Castro Faria's images, that the Nambikwaras lived around the Rondon telegraph lines: the viewer can see the barbed-wired fence behind the children, as well as a shed. Another photograph which, instead of focusing on a Bororo ceremony, frames the audience of Bororo people, several of whom are distracted by the camera, turns the technology itself (as well as the anthropologist and the viewer) into the spectacle to be looked at. Also excluded are all photographs of other places and times, such as an image of a boy in the Germanic south of Brazil giving the Nazi salute, and images of peasants, mixed-race Brazilians, and urban environments. Lévi-Strauss also excludes all self-portraits, all blurred images, ruins, and failures of representation that he addresses in writing, not to mention thousands of other photographs to which we don't have access. In *Tristes tropiques*, which is a book about the encounter with the past, Lévi-Strauss did not seem to believe in photography's capacity to take part in the interrelationships of montage and correspondence that characterize remembrance, associations extensively explored by the 1930s avant garde.

It was only in 1994, sixty years after his ethnographic expeditions, that Lévi-Strauss published a book of photographs. This book, *Saudades do Brasil* (*Nostalgia for Brazil*), was coauthored with his son Matthieu Lévi-Strauss, who was responsible for the enlargement of each of the 176 images in it.[89] The text, written by Claude Lévi-Strauss, presents *Saudades do Brasil* as a subjective book, in opposition to the objectifying vision of photography that he criticized. The prologue has a biographical tone; we are told that Lévi-Strauss learned how to photograph from his father, a portrait painter who routinely photographed his subjects to "guide him in the placement of their principal features" (*Saudades do Brasil*, 22). Claude's parents would visit him in São Paulo in 1935, where father and son would go out to take photographs together, competing "to see who could obtain the sharpest images" (22). They shopped for photographic supplies in São Paulo, acquiring a twin-lens reflex Voigtlander and a Hugo-Meyer F1.5 with a 75mm lens, which turned to be "practically unusable because of its weight" (22). Two Leicas, by contrast, made Claude Lévi-Strauss "marvel how such a small format . . . could produce such precise details" (22).

The captions that accompany the images in the book are also subjective: a photograph of a Tupi-Kawahib woman captioned in *Tristes*

tropiques as "Kunhatsin, Taperahi's main wife, carrying her child," is recaptioned in *Saudades do Brasil* as "Of his four wives, Kunhatsin was the most beautiful" (figure 3.20). On a picture of a Nambikwara girl, he changes the previous caption published in *Tristes tropiques* from "A Nambikwara smile" to "Mocking, provocative" (figure 3.15). "A Nambikwara smile" is an anthropological description of a referent, while the second subtitle tells us much more about the person who wrote it. Moreover, if the indefinite article generalizes it—"a" Nambikwara smile is perennial, or rather outside of time; it could be part of a collection, such as an arrow or a bowl—the verb in the gerund points to the time in which the photograph was taken, the present of the photographic encounter. This photograph is the last of a sequence of five images of Nambikwara women. The first has the appearance of a candid photograph: the photographer, standing behind what appears to be some palm leaves, photographs a happy conversation between two Nambikwara who seem unaware of or indifferent to the presence of the camera (figure 3.21). The caption mentions the attractiveness of the young Nambikwara women.

Figure 3.21. "L'attrait qu'exerçaient les Nambikwara, non obstant leur réputation détestable, tenait en bonne partie à la présence parmi eux de très jeunes femmes, gracieuses malgré une taille parfois peu fine" ("The Nambikwara allure, notwithstanding their bad reputation, was due to the presence among them of very young and gracious women, despite their not always graceful figure"). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, c. 1938. In Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Saudades do Brasil* (Paris: Plon, 1994), 142. Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

It is also among the Nambikwara that the episode of the writing lesson takes place. Among the most primitive people, writing is introduced in its crudest form as pure domination. Pinney calls attention to the fact that just after the writing lesson episode, Lévi-Strauss's party left the campsite in a hurry.[90] Still disconcerted by the farce he had witnessed and of which he was the instrument, Lévi-Strauss lost track of the others. He decided to fire shots in order to get his colleagues' attention and ended up scaring his mule, which ran away. As in a comedy film in which we know how the sequence of actions will progress, the anthropologist divested himself of his "weapons and photographic equipment and laid them all at the foot of a tree, carefully noting its position" (*Tristes Tropiques*, 297), and then ran off to recapture his mule. When he did gain control over the animal, he could not find his equipment. After hours alone, unarmed and terrified, he was finally rescued by two Nambikwara, for whom recovering his equipment was "child's play" (297). He slept poorly that night, reflecting on the episode of the writing lesson. At the end of a long digression on the negative historical consequences of writing, the text returns to the narrative: "While we were still at Utiarity, an epidemic of putrid ophthalmia had broken out among the natives. The infection, which was gonorrheal in origin, spread to the whole community, causing terrible pain and temporary blindness which could become permanent" (300).

Pinney interprets this sequence as a kind of "mythic punishment for the transgression of the "natural order of speech."[91] Disease and writing mirror each other, bringing to the fore the fragility of the primitive state, which can cease to exist at any time due to contact with civilization. In an image published in *Saudades do Brasil* but not in *Tristes tropiques*, we see two women on the ground with their eyes closed and their hands covering their faces in a gesture of pain (figure 3.22). We can also see a child's back, for the child is facing the sad spectacle of blindness. No one looks at the camera, which becomes an invisible eye gazing at the blindness of the other. In this episode the photographic apparatus, which exists side-by-side with the technology of writing, performs Lévi-Strauss's own fear: it registers and substitutes for the subjects it has helped to destroy.

Sixty years after his voyage, Lévi-Strauss declared that he decided to publish these 176 images because the world they portray "does not exist anymore" (*Saudades do Brasil*, 9). Rather than offering faithful substitutions for the "Indians"—for photographic technology has no ability "to bring them back" (9)—they are presented here as the remnants of an

Figure 3.22. "Une épidémie d'ophtalmie purulente, très douloureuse, frappa les Indiens pendant notre séjour. Plusieurs membres de l'expédition furent contaminés. On assistait à des scènes désolantes" ("An epidemic of very painful, suppurating eye inflammation struck the Indians while we were there. Several members of the expedition were contaminated. We witnessed some distressing scenes"). Photograph by Claude Lévi-Strauss, c. 1938. In Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Saudades do Brasil* (Paris: Plon, 1994), 128. Copyright © Matthieu Lévi-Strauss.

extinct world, as its absence and presence, its death and survival. This absence appears in the book's title, "Saudades," which is a subjective way of talking about the past. Lévi-Strauss was eighty-six when *Saudades do Brasil* was published, and the works that stemmed from his first encounter had changed the path of European thought. From *Saudades do Brasil*, pregnant with emotion, in which the images now emerge with little constraint, we can learn something more about the fears and joys, the dangers and eroticism, of both contact and photography.

Saudades do Brasil also includes photographs that talk about the broader everyday life of the expedition and its dependence on local labor. Before the photographs of the Bororo, *Saudades* shows a photograph of men slaughtering a cow that they would consume, and another man bathing a horse. An image of Cuiabá's port shows a horse quietly feeding in the foreground. In the background are some kids looking at the river, and almost indistinguishable people, some on boats, others on the banks, maybe workers, maybe family members of those who leave. The photographs of the streets of Cuiabá reveal nineteenth-century

houses, from the time of the boom in rubber extraction. Throughout the entire book, there are several images of means of transportation: boats, trucks, horses, and the expedition's voluminous luggage. There are some photographs of peasants and rubber gatherers, as well as of a Bolivian market, and the city of Salvador, both of which Lévi-Strauss saw on his way back to São Paulo. The idea that this multilayered world does not exist anymore is both a necessarily true statement—for a photograph is always an image of the past—and one way of temporalizing these images (curated in part by Lévi-Strauss's son) which emphasizes Lévi-Strauss's narrative of loss. Then, in 1994, this narrative emerges from the point of view of the subjective, affectionate traveler.

The last image of the book, however, points to another kind of temporality. The photograph, taken by the North American anthropologist David Allison in Peru, shows three young Indigenous Cashinaua boys reading *Tristes tropiques*. According to the caption, they are "contemplating some of these images," looking at what we just saw. This is the only photograph in *Saudades do Brasil* not taken in Brazil. The boys, wearing western clothes and looking at the book, contrast with the scene of blindness. The image also escapes the overly subjective tone of the book and its melancholic tone. It is traversed by various temporalities and geographies: Lévi-Strauss's experience of contact, the moment he encounters his memories anew in writing *Tristes tropiques*, Allison's encounter with communities in Peru, and the Cashinaua boys' encounter with the images in *Tristes tropiques*. Thus, the image also speaks of multilayered temporalities. First, it speaks of the present and future of Indigenous communities, in affirming their survival in spite of Lévi-Strauss's pessimism. Second, it speaks of all the encounters with these images (the ones which escaped from the archive) in a world where circulation and contact will continue to happen. Ultimately, though, this last image, produced by a fellow anthropologist, reminds us of the absence of images produced by Indigenous peoples in *Saudades do Brasil*, a book published in 1994—that is, after Indigenous media projects had started to reclaim protagonism in the production of technological images of themselves.

CHAPTER 4

Shadows

The Amazonian Worker and the Modernist Traveler

On May 7, 1927, Mário de Andrade, an exponent of Brazilian modernism, left São Paulo to begin a voyage across the Amazonian region. He carried a Kodak camera, which he called a *codaquinha*, and was determined to write a modernist book. Traveling fifteen years after the decline of the Amazonian rubber boom, Andrade witnessed the effects of extractive capitalism in the region and described in his diary his own role in these transformations. He was not the only writer to do so at that time, but in contrast to other travelers who expressed guilt for their complicit part in the process of modernization that disenfranchised local communities—one of the most famous being Claude Lévi-Strauss—the narrative in Andrade's written and photographic diaries is not one of mourning or loss. In this chapter, I contend that Andrade experiments with a mode of registering time through a combination of photography and text in order to convey multilayered and heterogeneous temporalities of modernity within the geopolitical context of extractive capitalism. Instead of highlighting progress or catastrophe, his photographic practice emphasizes instability and change, preventing the photographed subjects from being fixed in any specific temporal coordinate, as either remnants of the past or as seeds of the future. He does this by focusing on the very concrete (and thus often unexpected) encounters and inherently unequal "frictions"—to use anthropologist Anna Tsing's term[1]—between tourists, commodities, money, machines,

laborers, languages, and modes of life in the Amazonian region. Finally, while Andrade recognizes his complicity as a traveler with the destructive process of modernization, he also develops a phenomenology of looking, writing, and photographing that does not deny but, rather, highlights his own embodied engagement in these transformations.

The first entry in *O turista aprendiz* (*The Apprentice Tourist*), the title given by Andrade to a manuscript version of his Amazonian diary, sets the tone for the modernist book he never published; after complaining that he forgot the "enormous cane" which he bought out of some "vague fear of Indians," he predicts that the trip ahead will not be any kind of adventure.[2] He eventually returns home for the cane, explaining that in addition to a logical consciousness, each person also has a poetic consciousness and that his own poetic consciousness was shaped by memories of adventure books he had read. A number of scholars have pointed out that *O turista aprendiz* is full of passages such as this one, which both emphasizes the writer's subjective gaze and suggests that this gaze is mediated by other images and narratives of adventure and exploration.[3] Scholarly works that concentrate on Andrade's photographs in the Amazon follow similar lines, examining the ways in which he both reproduces and destabilizes the gaze of the modern explorer.[4] While the emphasis on the mediated gaze likens Andrade's diaries to Lévi-Strauss's travel memoir,[5] in which the French anthropologist recounts arriving in Rio de Janeiro with Jean de Léry's book in his pocket, Andrade's criticism of both the objectivism and exoticism of travel narratives leads him to the opposite aesthetic and political pedagogy: Andrade's modernist gaze is a radical affirmation of the embodied experience of travel.

Throughout his diary, Andrade highlights his excess of "gozo" (enjoyment) in what he sees: "a violent sensorial life, which intoxicates" (*O turista aprendiz*, 188). This "sensuality of contact" (188) is so extreme that it hinders thought. This is not to say that the embodied gaze rests on the side of immediacy. In a passage about a stunning sunset in Manaus, he suggests that the gaze itself can be blurred by pleasure: "When the pleasure was so intense that I didn't think myself capable of any more pleasure, I found my eyes filled with tears" (137). Whereas Lévi-Strauss uses the sunset as a model for the object of the ethnographic encounter, a spectacle that is always unique and already a reproduction, Andrade emphasizes the effect that the twilight has on his body. Following the rhetoric of tears in Saint Augustine and Nietzsche, Derrida notes that tears are a form of "revelatory apocalyptic blindness."[6] By veiling sight, tears reveal what is proper to the eyes, that they are made to weep, "to address prayer, love, joy or sadness."[7] In a similar vein, the phenomenol-

ogy of looking brings about for Andrade both an interruption of sight and a reminder of the traveler's affectability.

In the case of Andrade's photographic practice, emphasis on the embodied presence of the traveler is developed through the visibility of technological mediation. Instead of a window opening onto the world, the camera makes its way into his images as a limiting or framing device. Often examined by scholars interested in Andrade's photographic modernism,[8] the first image in his Amazonian series, captioned as "Abrolhos" and "Paisagem vista de escotilha" ("Abrolhos," "Landscape seen from a porthole," figure 4.1), is a perfect example of Andrade's emphasis on the limited and mediated character of the traveler's gaze. The photograph is taken through a porthole from within the ship *Pedro I*—

Figure 4.1. "Abrolhos"; "Paisagem vista de escotilha" ("Abrolhos"; "Landscape seen from a porthole"). Photograph by Mário de Andrade, May 13, 1927. Reproduced by Arquivo IEB-USP, Fundo Mário de Andrade, código de referência: MA-F-0142.

named after the first emperor of post-independence Brazil—the mode of transportation that allows Andrade to travel from Rio de Janeiro to the mouth of the Amazon River and provides him with the opportunity to occupy the traditional point of view of the colonizer; and consequently the photograph is limited by the boat's structure. The porthole reminds the viewer that what enables looking also limits the gaze on the ship. More than a comment on framing and the constructed nature of the landscape, however, the materiality of photographic technology also becomes visible through the speckles of light that make their way into the dark areas of the image. It is as if the lens itself, exposed to the "excess of light" of the tropics, were covered with tears (*O turista aprendiz*, 188). The photograph's caption is another reminder of the relationships between the camera and the traveler's eyes: Abrolhos, the name of the uninhabited, idyllic archipelago in the south of Bahia along which the boat passes without stopping, can be read as Abr'olhos, an alert for the viewers to open their eyes, as if this would allow them to see better.[9]

Andrade's emphasis on embodied mediation takes many forms. His photographs are frequently blurred or contain internal frames. His subjects are sometimes too close to the camera, and are thus partially obscured by his own shadow; at other times, the camera is too distant, and is separated from its subjects by props and objects. In a handful of images that Andrade decides to enlarge, the subjects gaze at the photographer. In a photograph of four boys facing the camera, for example, the caption emphasizes the subject of their gaze, the photographer: ". . . o homem que tirou fotografia da gente . . ." (". . . the man who photographed us . . ."). Some of these strategies are consistent, as many have suggested, with the aesthetics of European photographic modernism, whose developments Andrade followed through magazines such as *L'Esprit Nouveau* and *Der Querschnitt*.[10] The combination of texts and images in Andrade's diaries, however, suggests that his emphasis on embodied mediation is part of a broader preoccupation with the ethical and political implications of seeing and photographing a post-rubber boom Amazonian space. Andrade's pedagogy of the gaze shows how the body of the traveler, the structure that allows him to travel, and the materiality of the camera are entangled in a broader transatlantic extractive industry.

If in the photograph of Abrolhos, taken from within the royally named ship *Pedro I* on its way up to the Amazon, the traveler plays with the expectations of the colonial gaze, a photograph taken on the way back to Rio de Janeiro shifts the focus to the urban traveler's implications in the infrastructures of modern supply chains (figure 4.2).

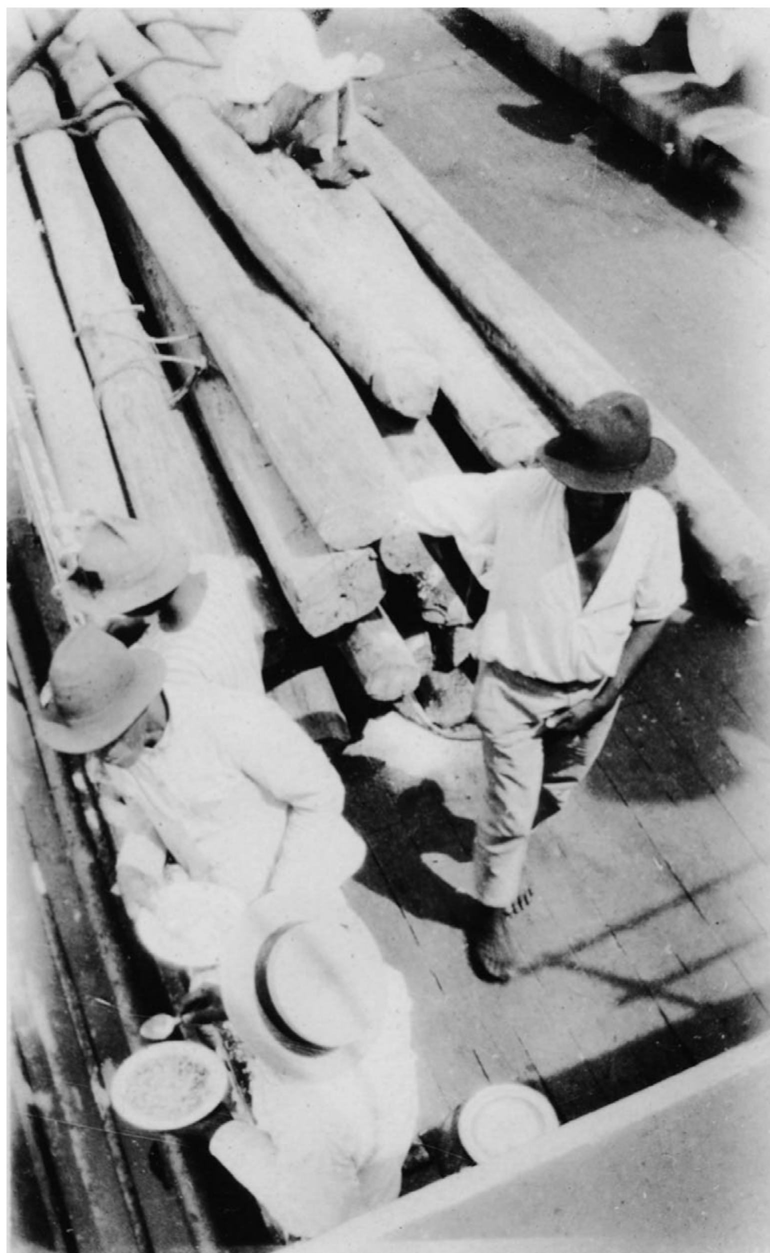


Figure 4.2. “Almoço da 3a classe, Baependi—ao largo”; “Em terceira voracidade” (“Third class lunch, Baependi—off the coast”; “In third voracity”). Photograph by Mário de Andrade, August 6, 1927. Reproduced by permission of Arquivo IEB-USP, Fundo Mário de Andrade, código de referência: MA-F-0596.

Instead of looking outwards, at an idyllic archipelago, the photograph, captioned "Almoço da 3a classe, Baependi—ao largo" and "Em terceira voracidade" ("Third class lunch, Baependi—off the coast"; "In third voracity") frames the "third class" from above, embodying the unequal interactions between travelers and workers, and the entangled routes of tourism and extractivism. The image shows a group of men standing and eating with spoons, while another man, to their right, in a relaxed posture, steps forward, barefoot. The high camera angle creates a geometric pattern, contrasting the round plates and hats with the diagonal lines of piled-up lumber. At the same time, it emphasizes both the photographer's location on the boat and his positioning within a class structure. More than that, as the pile of lumber suggests, the uneven encounter between the photographer and the workers is sustained by the flow of extractive goods from the north to the south of the country.

As Andrade emphasizes in his diary, the *Baependi* was a cargo ship. In his diary entry for August 6, when this photograph was taken, he recounts dialogues among the workers who transported cargo from barges to the *Baependi*, which stood off the coast. In the diary, he mentions a beautiful black worker, Chico Chagas, and his barge "called Liberty. It is called Liberty," (*O turista aprendiz*, 199) he repeats. From the upper level of the boat, without, as he emphasizes in the diary, being able to disembark, Andrade looked at the laborers' movements and decided to photograph them on their break, their "free time." As a commentary on freedom and work, the image challenges the fantasies of independence of the traveler and photographer, whose freedom to move and photograph depends on the work of others. In this combination of text and image, Andrade teaches viewers to see the structures that both sustain and restrict their own power of looking.

If Andrade's embodied phenomenology of looking emphasizes mediation instead of immediacy, this mediation unfolds through the processes of enlarging and, especially, captioning his images. Andrade's photographic archive consists of 530 photographs taken during his Amazonian trip, most of which were printed in a 3.7 cm × 6.1 cm format. A few of the photographs are further enlarged (the most common enlargements are sized around 12.5 cm × 17.5 cm, with some variations). The enlarged prints also reveal his experimentation with color (specifically sepia), contrast, and tonality. On the reverse side of each print, Andrade transcribes in pencil information he had previously jotted down in a notebook, including date, time, place, luminosity, aperture size, and so on. In addition to the more technical information, as Telê Ancona Lopez

has noted,[11] Andrade adds creative captions in a lighter handwriting, which suggests that the two types of captions were inscribed at different times. The creative captions serve as commentaries on the images; many of them are humorous, self-referential, anecdotal, and exclamatory, and comprise the parallel text of a fragmentary diary that dialogues with both *O turista aprendiz* and the photographic sequence. The temporal dimension of this multilayered dialogue is the object of my analysis here.

The written diary *O turista aprendiz* is also the result of a series of mediations. More than once, Andrade transcribed and edited the notes he had initially jotted down on pieces of paper. His archives contain different versions of these notes, and evidence of this process of rewriting can also be seen in the final version of the manuscript, for which he made a cover and wrote a preface in 1943. In this last manuscript, we find, for example, two different narratives of the same day, indicating his unfinished work of editing. Through Andrade's mediations and transformations, both the written and photographic diaries fail to achieve stability and, consequently, to stabilize the Amazonian space and people encountered by the traveler-photographer. Andrade's process of rewriting was not exclusive to his diary,[12] but in the case of *O turista aprendiz* this instability persisted until Andrade's death, and the work was edited and published for the first time in 1976 by Telê Porto Ancona Lopez.

Another important aspect of the temporal dimension of the photographic diaries that contributes to destabilizing the Amazonian subject is how Andrade captions his photographs in ways that often refer to traces of what is not seen in the image or to what has been transformed or will be transformed in the future. Time refers not only to the temporality of multiple mediations, but also to the multilayered time of modernity and the "uneven modernization"[13] of the Amazon brought on by the exploitation of labor and various extractive industries. If the main figure in Lévi-Strauss's account is the lost primitive subject, Andrade focuses on the figures of exploited laborers, particularly rubber tappers, loggers, and the nearly six thousand migrant workers who died during the construction of the Madeira-Mamoré Railway.

This recognition of traces of the labor that transforms the landscape of the Amazon, however, does not acquire for Andrade a temporality of loss. For example, at the same time that he relates the extractive economy to the deadly effects of malaria in the region, Andrade views malaria as a mode of being and engaging with the world that resists

the productive temporality of capitalism. He learns that the *maleiteiros* (those infected with malaria) have a particularly disinterested way of looking at the world, as if having no desire or interested focus at all. Contrary to the *maleiteiros* themselves, however, Andrade is deeply interested in them, constantly identifying *maleita* faces and confessing a desire to experience a state of being in which one does not desire anything at all. This desire for the *maleiteiros*' non-desire exemplifies the contradictions sustained by Andrade's politics and aesthetics of looking in the context of Amazonian capitalist exploitation.

Recent studies of Andrade's diaries and photographs have played an important role in highlighting his critical dialogue with both the archive of imperialist exploration and the vocabulary of European vanguards. While André Botelho[14] insightfully insists on Andrade's attentiveness to diversity and inequality—an element often overlooked by traditional approaches to the poet's work focused on the question of national identity—Luciana Martins analyzes his photographs and writings in the context of his proposal for a "critical nationalism,"[15] which would later form the basis for his work in preserving Brazil's cultural patrimony. Analyzing Andrade's photographs, Esther Gabara suggests that his landscapes "foreground rather than erase the power relations implicit in the view, and insert modernist landscapes directly into the field of human life, politics, and ethics,"[16] and that his shadowy portraits reveal the photographer's own anxiety about his identity that lies somewhere between the European and the Indigenous. By arguing that Andrade makes modernist images "err"—in the double sense of both "errant" and "erroneous"—Gabara posits that instead of defining the nation, Andrade sets the borders that define it into motion. More recently, the film scholar Keiji Kunigami has built on Gabara's suggestion regarding the presence of movement in Andrade's photographs, arguing that the poet intuited a critical version of the modern cinematic spectator standing on the peripheries of capitalism.[17] The political dimension of Andrade's photographs resides, for Kunigami, in their affirmation of this modern cinematic spectator's immobility before moving images, an immobile politics of "just looking." In dialogue with these scholars, I discuss in this chapter the ethical and political dimension of Andrade's photographic aesthetic: from his attentiveness to workers and power relations to his criticisms of ways of looking, and the emotions related to them (i.e., joy, pleasure, guilt, pain). While I agree with Gabara and Kunigami that there is a dimension of movement and instability in An-

drade's photographs, I am interested in the ways in which he highlights the traces of multiple temporalities inscribed in the still image. Through a reading of Andrade's combination of photographs and text, as well as his few writings on photography, I argue that he understands photography as an immobile image that is nonetheless unlimited, opening up beyond the frame, capable of registering time in different ways. In the case of his Amazonian diaries, this quality unfolds in the development of a pedagogy of the gaze that guides the viewer through a multilayered reading of the marks of colonial and modern modes of human and environmental exploitation, of the shadows of labor and resistance to labor, and the footprints left by tourists and commodities, extractive and photographic machines; it is here that Andrade seeks ethical knowledge about an Amazonian modernity through photographic images. It is not irrelevant that his trip is not contained within the territory (and history) of the Brazilian nation, but crosses borders into both Peru and Bolivia.

I conclude this chapter by examining Andrade's seldom-discussed indecisiveness with regard to the publication of his travel account and his later return to the manuscript in 1942. Much like Lévi-Strauss, Andrade fell prey to an uneasiness, or at least an uncertainty, with regard to the value of his written and photographic Amazonian travel account, seeing in them an excessive "personalism."[18] He decided to retype the manuscript in 1942 and wrote a preface for the work in 1943, two years before his death. These were years of profound political disenchantment with an ongoing world war, the dictatorial regime of the Estado Novo in Brazil, and Andrade's personal disappointment over his dismissal from his job as director of the Department of Culture of São Paulo, an event with a plot full of bitter accusations and betrayals. Andrade, who had dedicated much of his time in the 1930s to preserving and democratizing culture in Brazil, and was a man who believed in and worked for the state, came to the bitter conclusion that he had been fighting against ghosts. In his famous 1942 speech "O Movimento Modernista" ("The Modernist Movement"),[19] he criticizes the first generation of the Brazilian modernist movement and his own work for its elitism and its alienation from the people and the political present. Why does Andrade decide to revisit *O turista aprendiz* in the same year as the speech? I will explore how some of his uneasiness with the political dimension of his work, as expressed in the 1942 speech—the problem of looking versus participating—finds echoes in the pedagogy of the gaze he develops in his Amazonian diaries.

SHADOWS OF BUTTERFLIES AND DEAD WORKERS

Mário de Andrade left São Paulo on May 7, 1927, carrying a Kodak camera and planning to write a modernist book. After spending four days in Rio de Janeiro meeting with other writers and friends, he embarked on the *Pedro I*, the boat that would take him and his travel companions—the modernist art patron and member of the coffee aristocracy Olívia Guedes Penteado, her niece Margarida Guedes Nogueira ("Mag"), the modernist painter Tarsila do Amaral's daughter Dulce do Amaral Pinto ("Dolur"), and a servant (whom Andrade barely mentions in his description of the group)—up the northeastern coast of Brazil to the city of Belém.[20] From Belém, the travelers sailed up the Amazon River and eventually reached Iquitos, Peru, and then went back to Manaus, the capital of the Brazilian state of Amazonas. From Manaus they headed to Porto Velho, a city on the border with the state of Mato Grosso that served as the base of operations for the construction of the Madeira-Mamoré Railway between 1907 and 1912. On July 12, two months after they left Rio de Janeiro, the group from São Paulo took a Madeira-Mamoré Railway train to the border with Bolivia. It is in Andrade's written and photographic accounts of this train trip that the intrinsic connection between an embodied phenomenology of looking and the question of the incorporation of the Amazonian space into global market relations appears most clearly.

Andrade's first diary entry about the Madeira-Mamoré rail line begins by establishing a scene marked by both death and beauty, with its picturesque houses and butterflies:

> Since 6 am, eating dusty stretches of land, in this former region of death, where each crosstie is the body of a dead man. This Madeira-Mamoré. . . . We go to Guajará-Mirim, São Carlos, Santo Antônio, Jaci Paraná, Abunã. Lunch. Beautiful *Casitas caboclas* [Indigenous huts][21] of lovely architectural creation. As we move forward, whirlwinds form in the void left by the train that has passed, attracting flocks of agitated butterflies. (*O turista aprendiz*, 158)

Death is initially situated in the past: this is the *ex-região da morte* (former region of death), writes Andrade, referring to the thousands of national and foreign workers of over fifty ethnicities who died during the construction of the railway. The high death rates warranted an al-

most constant influx of replacement workers. In this passage, Andrade cites a proverb circulating at the time according to which the number of dead workers was equal to the number of crossties used in the railway tracks. And the Madeira-Mamoré line had plenty of crossties: 364 kilometers of them, laid by workers across a region of wetlands, constant rain, mudslides, and tropical disease. The proverb allows Andrade to equate the celebrated monumentality of the railway with a cemetery of equal vastness.

In order to understand Andrade's portrayal of the Madeira-Mamoré Railway, it is important to go back in time. The first attempt to build the Madeira-Mamoré line occurred in 1878 during an expedition led by the American engineer, explorer, soldier, and investor Col. George Earl Church. In 1870, Church acquired from the Brazilian and Bolivian governments the right to lay rail tracks that would allow traders to avoid the falls of the Madeira River, one of the largest tributaries of the Amazon. This was, according to an 1878 article in the *New York Herald*, "the first time in the history of this country that an expedition has been sent from the United States, equipped with American money, materials, and brains, for the execution of a great public work in a foreign country."[22] The engineering expedition, which comprised "the ablest body of men in this profession ever united," was soon discontinued, however, due in large part to high mortality rates and poor working conditions that led to workers' rebellions and desertions.[23]

Haunted by the failure of this first expedition, the second attempt to build the railway, led by a US corporation, the Brazil Railway Company, between 1907 and 1912, was a widely publicized display of technological and human power. In the words of Francisco Foot-Hardman: "Madeira-Mamoré was the privileged spectacle of capitalist civilization in the jungle."[24] As part of its effort to document and publicize the engineering enterprise, the Brazil Railway Company hired the American photographer Dana Merrill. Some of Merrill's photographs were published in articles and accounts written by journalists and company employees in the 1910s and 1920s, mostly emphasizing the triumphant and audacious enterprise,[25] while others were organized in albums by Merrill that have remained in private archives until recently.[26]

Several of Merrill's photographs emphasize the advance of the railway into the jungle, many of them privileging a linear perspective that leads the gaze forward: from the point of view of a train, the track's parallel lines direct the viewer's gaze at a vanishing point on the horizon (figure 4.3).[27] Other photos show the obstacles encountered by this

Figure 4.3. "Looking toward Camp 16," Rondonia, Brazil. Photograph by Dana Merrill, 1909–1912. Views of the Estrada de Ferro Madeira e Mamore Amazonas & Matto Grosso, Brazil S.A. Collection. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection, The New York Public Library.

forward movement of modern technology, such as enormous mudslides which destroyed large sections of the track (figure 4.4). Along with these large-scale views of already built sections of the railway, Merrill also paid close attention to the placing of the crossties. A sequence he crafted in an album held today at the New York Public Library, for example, shows the different stages in the construction of a section of track near the Apunã River (figure 4.5). Photographing with a large format early twentieth-century camera that depended on the use of a tripod due to long exposure times (ideally suited for photographing posing subjects),[28] Merrill imbued these photographs with a sense of time as advancement in his use of sequencing and captioning. Arranged side by side, the photos captioned "Before ties and rails are laid" and "After a load of dirt is put in" create a before-and-after sequencing effect, while the flooded tracks in the latter photo give an idea of both the steps and the difficulties involved in laying tracks across the Amazonian

Figure 4.4. “Mudslide,” Rondonia, Brazil. Photograph by Dana Merrill, 1909–1912. Views of the Estrada de Ferro Madeira e Mamore Amazonas & Matto Grosso, Brazil S.A. Collection. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection, The New York Public Library.

wetlands. In a third photograph on the same page showing workers laying tracks over a bed of tree branches, movement is suggested by the blurred figure walking on the tracks. In the handwritten caption, “Road building through a swamp,” the use of the verb in the gerund form emphasizes the actual process of construction, while the preposition “through” marks once again the idea of movement through space. For this image, the photographer positions the camera at the lower right edge of the tracks, allowing us to see the specific role of one of the workers, who is shown tightening a bolt, in this process.

Combining small-scale photographs of workers with monumental images that appeal to an aesthetic of the sublime, Merrill represents the construction of the railway as both a heroic attempt to subdue the forces of nature and the result of the everyday labor of thousands of men. In contrast, by transforming each crosstie into an epitaph for an anonymous dead worker, the proverb cited by Andrade suggests the tight link between resource extraction and labor exploitation, and between environmental and human destruction.

And in contrast with some of Merrill’s photographs, Andrade’s diary passage regarding the relationship between nature and the railway is

Figure 4.5. "Album assemblage," Rondonia, Brazil. Photographs by Dana Merrill, 1909–1912. Views of the Estrada de Ferro Madeira e Mamore Amazonas & Matto Grosso, Brazil S.A. Collection. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection, The New York Public Library.

not akin to the sublime at all. The flocks of agitated butterflies that surge from the void left by the passing train are a subtle image of non-human life's resilience. In contrast to an image of Nature as what stands out there, separate from Man, as either an obstacle or a resource for the expansion of technological modernity, Andrade's butterflies live and move in interaction with technology, coexisting within this multispecies zone in the aftermath of destruction. They also break with the spatial organization of the gaze that appears in Merrill's photographs and in the linear form of the railway itself. Instead of leading the gaze forward, Andrade turns his attention to an ephemeral phenomenon that follows the passing of the train. The butterflies are not ahead of the train, as is part of a territory to be gained, nor are they along the railway as part of the landscape to be viewed; they appear fleetingly behind the train, attracted by the turmoil caused by its movement. Thus, in reframing the interaction between non-human nature and technology, the passage destabilizes the spatiality and temporality of looking in the context of the railway: the traveler-narrator could not have seen the butterflies from

the train window because they surge behind the train. Thus, the initial impression that a "former region of death" is temporally separate from a present region of beauty is deceptive; the butterflies are an anachronistic image. Like the workers who constructed the railway, they are simultaneously present and absent from the scene.

The very ordering of text and image in Andrade's diaries emphasizes this anachronism. The butterflies appear in two photographs taken by him the day before the diary entry, while the poet was still in the city of Porto Velho. One of these images (figure 0.1), which he would enlarge twice, is a portrait of Andrade himself sitting on the tracks against a desolate background. Each of the enlargements receives a different caption. One of the enlargements is captioned "Chapéu-de-chile no porto de Porto Velho" ("Straw hat at the port of Porto Velho"), highlighting that the poet is posing with a Chilean-style straw hat,[29] a sign of fashion and cosmopolitanism, that he bought in Iquitos.[30] He poses in a port city, a zone of circulation of commodities and people. In highlighting the hat, the caption ends up calling attention to the portrait's devastated background and to the landscape of capitalist destruction that it does not mention. The city of Porto Velho was developed at the margins of the Madeira River at the height of the Amazonian rubber boom during the construction of the railway. As a prototype of the modernization process that could be wrought by the railway, the Amazonian town, built using the US model of the grid, had sewage systems, an ice plant, electric power and lighting, and even an English-language newspaper. After the decline of the rubber boom, it acquired many features of decayed port cities. The second caption that Andrade chooses for his portrait reveals that the actual subject of the photograph is much more subtle: the almost invisible presence of the butterflies in the scene. The caption reads: "Na verdade estou sentado nesses trilhos de Porto Velho por causa das borboletas que estão me rodeando, amarelinhas e a objectiva esqueceu de registrar. Era pra fotar as borboletas" ("Actually I am sitting on these tracks in Porto Velho because of the butterflies that surround me, all yellow, and the lens forgot to register them. It should have photographed the butterflies"). By pointing out the inability of both the Kodak camera and the photographer to focus on the butterflies, this caption highlights the almost invisible presence of life and beauty in the otherwise devastated background against which Andrade poses.

In Andrade's diary description of his experience on the train, we find a similar combination of the traveler's enjoyment of luxurious consumer goods and his disappointment at the lack of a landscape for him to look

at, while the butterflies remain out of sight (out of focus, in the case of the photograph, and out of frame, in the case of the train window). So that we can analyze how Andrade reconstructs the scene in writing, I include the entire passage below:

> No . . . you cannot say it is beautiful . . . Terrible *Cerrado* ground, feeble shrubs, swamps, marshes, along the falling river and that's it. There is no Burgos Cathedral to be seen . . . But these tracks were planted without Egyptians kings or slaves . . . Without slaves? . . . At least without slaves whipped to death . . . Thousands of Chinese, Portuguese, Bolivians, Barbadians, Arabs, Greeks, have come for a few pennies. All sorts of nose and skin types came through here and lay with a bit of a fever at dawn to rise in the never more. What am I doing here! . . . Today the poet travels with his friends, through the Madeira-Mamoré, in a clean car, well seated in a chair made with *cipó-titica*, . . . entirely made by the *alamão* [German] from Manaus. The waiter in uniform brings him a *Simões guaraná*, from Belém, very cold, with the most beautiful ice in the world, which is from Porto Velho. Today the poet eats roasted turkey made by a *mestre cook de primo cartello*, who boarded the Vitória, sent by the Amazon River to sweeten our life. Sometimes we stop, and the landscapes are kodakized, even cinema is brought in! In order to capture for our *orgulhos futuros* [future pride] the exotic straw hut, woven with care and fancy. What am I doing here! What is the reason for all these international dead workers that are reborn in the uproar of the locomotive to spy on me with their dim eyes through the train windows? (*O turista aprendiz*, 158–59)

If in the photograph (figure 0.1 on page 2) we see Andrade sitting on the train tracks surrounded by shadowy traces of butterflies, in the diary Andrade appears sitting inside the train, surrounded by the ghostly presence of dead laborers. From inside the train cabin, the poet recognizes his own privilege as he travels on one of the great engineering achievements of modernity. The embodied experience of the writer-photographer cannot be separated from the *guaraná* he drinks, and the fact that he is served by a waiter in uniform and the "mestre cook de primo cartello." By referring to the German carpenter from Manaus as an "alamão," a brazilianization of Portuguese, and inserting words in Italian and English, Andrade

performs in his writing the transformation of the region into a zone of friction and the circulation of languages, bodies, and commodities. The perfect products he consumes are framed against the backdrop of a modern exploitation of labor that is comparable to slavery.

In a review of two war films he wrote for *Diário Nacional* in 1932, in the inter-war period, Andrade comments on the importance of being aware of the spectator's removed position when confronted with images of human destruction.[31] Criticizing how the massive circulation of war images normalizes indignation, Andrade brings up two films released in 1930 that stand out for their cinematic value, although in opposite ways. While Lewis Milestone's *All Quiet on the Western Front* provides an artistically rendered image of war that is truer by virtue of (not in spite of) being figurative—in other words, by corresponding to the way we imagine war to be—G. W. Pabst's *Vier von der Infanterie* (*Westfront 1918*) is described as an honest attempt to reproduce reality. According to Andrade, Pabst's aesthetics explore cinematography's unique ability to reproduce reality, although the film's value lies in a moment of the interruption of realism. Andrade describes in detail a scene of a character's madness in the film, adding that the scene's element of falsity reminds the spectator, who is until then oblivious to the art of cinema, "that we are in a movie theater, and we kind of suffer from not taking part (comfortably) in the war" ("Filmes de guerra," 49–50). In Andrade's description of the Madeira-Mamoré Railway, the narrative flow is interrupted twice by the exclamation O *que eu vim fazer aqui!* . . . (What am I doing here!). In between these exclamatory reminders of his own presence in this sighting of death, Andrade describes his privileged and removed participation (as spectator and consumer) in human destruction.

In his analysis of this passage, Kunigami rightly reminds us that the train passenger was, in the early twentieth century, the prototype for the cinematic viewer, in which an immobile spectator is politically interpellated by moving images.[32] Building on Kunigami's suggestion by approaching this scene as Andrade's reproduction of the cinematic situation in writing,[33] I would add that Andrade as spectator is not only confronted with moving images, but with a montage that privileges anachronism, as in the resurgence of the dead laborers and the unseen butterflies.

Strikingly, when Andrade finally refers to something to be seen outside the train window—that is, something "interesting" or "beautiful"—the train has to be stopped so that the photographer can turn it into a still image (figure 4.6): "Sometimes we stop, and the landscapes are kodakized, even cinema is brought in! In order to capture for our *orgulhos futuros* [future pride] the exotic straw hut, woven with care and fantasy." Who

Figure 4.6. "Tapiri ao longo da linha Madeira-Mamoré" ("Indigenous hut along the Madeira-Mamoré railway"). Photograph by Mário de Andrade, July 12, 1927. Reproduced by permission of Arquivo IEB-USP, Fundo Mário de Andrade, código de referência: MA-F-0445.

is this "we" who will be proud in the future of having photographed a straw hut? Is it the group of travelers from São Paulo, the modernists, or is it urban Brazilian citizens in general, overwhelmed by some nationalist sentiment? Will they be proud of the photograph or of its referent? Why "future pride"? Because there is a necessary delay in the photographic process, or because the "exotic" straw hut will have been appropriated as an image of the nation's past—an Indigenous past? In contrast to the moving images he sees from the train window, the photographic gesture requires Andrade to get out of the train and make a choice that is pregnant with expectations: "for our future pride." This interested, active gaze can be compared to an extractive gesture. But the interpretation of this "we" as nation is further complicated by Andrade's comment that "even cinema is brought in," a reminder of the screenings of North American films that he constantly mentions in his diary and that mediate his gaze. Once more, Andrade focuses on the entanglement of multiple temporalities and geographies within Amazonian modernity, in which he participates with his own photographic practice. Coexisting in this zone of circulation of people, machines, images, and commodities is the straw hut constructed with care and imagination. A result of both tradition and inventiveness, the hut is an articulation of past and future that gets entangled in, though not subsumed by, its photograph.

The relationship between extractivism, labor, and photography imbues another of Andrade's photographs with this sense of time as transformation (figure 4.7). The photograph was taken in Nanay, Peru, on June 23. The same enlargement of this image received two differ-

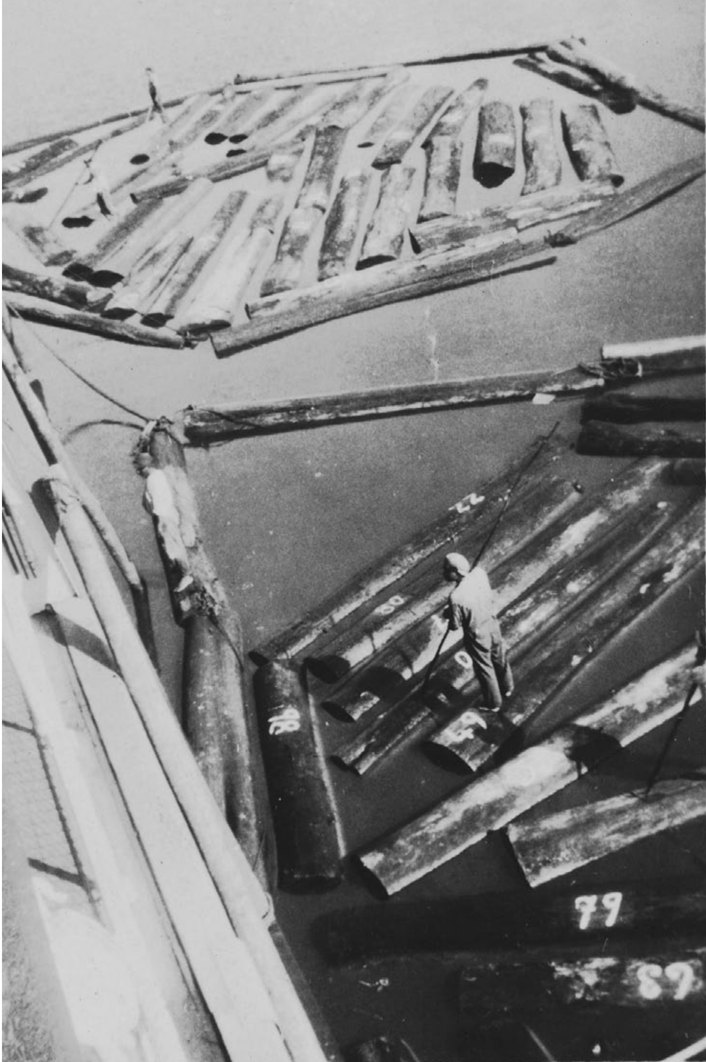


Figure 4.7. "Jangadas de mogno enconstando no São Salvador pra embarcar"; "Vitrolas Futuras" ("Mahogany rafts touching the São Salvador before boarding"; "Future phonographs"). Photograph by Mário de Andrade, Nanay, Peru, June 23, 1927. Reproduced by permission of Arquivo IEB-USP, Fundo Mário de Andrade, código de referência: MA-F-0320.

ent captions. As with the photograph of butterflies, the process of re-captioning, which in itself temporalizes the reading of this image, serves to point out what might otherwise remain unseen in it. The first caption for the Nanay picture describes floating mahogany lumber that is about to be loaded onto a boat: "Jangadas de mogno encostando no São Salvador pra embarcar" ("Mahogany rafts touching the São Salvador before boarding"). Through the use of the gerund "touching," Andrade emphasizes the transitory condition of the composition. The second caption, "Vitrolas futuras" ("Future phonographs"), does not contain any verb but points nevertheless to the process of transformation of lumber into a phonograph player through labor, again connecting modern technologies with the human transformation of the environment. This transformation is twofold, since before being turned into music players the logs are transformed by photography into a modernist image through the highlighting of geometric forms that blur the natural and the manmade, the transitory and the permanent.

Similar to the photographs of butterflies, the double captioning here is crucial to the destabilization of the photographic referent: it fosters a multilayered reading of the image both by leading the viewer to see it in steps and by pointing out the future and past inscribed in the image. In "Vitrolas futuras," the montage of image and captions also destabilizes the relationship between art and its subject through the double emphasis on the transformation of nature into the subject of art—logs, water, and sky become the subject for a modernist photograph—and on the transformation of nature into art media (wood will become phonograph players, and the phonographs can stand here for photographic cameras or photographic paper). Finally, Andrade's image/text assemblage also points out that the exploitation of Amazonian trees and workers is propelling a global cultural industry in expansion. In his diary entry for June 23, he affirms that this lumber, "Caoba in Castilian; here in the region it is called aguano, we say mogno" (*O turista aprendiz*, 123), will be shipped in their boat, then sent on to a phonograph factory in Boston. Ultimately, as the list of different names for the wood suggests, Andrade's approach to globalization is not blind to difference and the specificities of the local.

The same day, right after this passage which builds an image of an all-encompassing network of capitalist labor and trade, the writer fictionalizes an encounter that suggests the possibility of an alternative, noncapitalist existence. He describes this encounter taking place during a visit that the group of travelers made to a Huitoto village in Peru

where Andrade notes that the "Indians" wear clothes "like us" (*O turista aprendiz*, 123). This similarity—or evidence of "assimilation," to use a term common at the time to assess (positively or negatively) the supposed disappearance of difference through the expansion of Western culture—is misleading. Andrade's account of his encounter with the Huitoto was marked by friction, awkwardness, and misunderstanding, especially on his part. First, he finds a beautiful vase and tries everything he can to procure it, but the Huitoto decline, directing him to buy a pot of much lesser value. The pot he wanted is, to his frustration, not for sale. Next he sees a beautiful Huitoto woman and wants to photograph her, but she refuses: *si quieren, tienen que pagar* (if you want it, you have to pay for it, 124), she tells him in Spanish, laughing. To his surprise, the Indigenous image is, unlike the pot, for sale. The agency of the Huitoto—their ability to not freely offer their image or not to sell their work—is finally explained by Andrade: "The Peruvian government cedes this place to the Huitoto, with the condition that they work twenty days a year . . . for themselves, planting. They chew coca and live" (124). The Huitoto "live," he says, meaning that their existence is not subsumed by capitalist labor.

The theme of labor among the Huitoto will be further developed in the next diary entry, June 24, which narrates a fictional encounter with an "ironic Indian" (*O turista aprendiz*, 124). The man seeks Andrade out because he has heard that he is a poet and asks if Andrade will compose a song about the Huitoto. Irritated because the Huitoto man refuses to sell him any coca leaves, Andrade tells him that they are a decayed civilization who, unlike the Inca, do not work and do not have laws, palaces, or emperors. In response, the Huitoto man narrates a parable about a time when the tribes competed over who could build the most beautiful palaces and pass the best laws, but there was always another, more beautiful castle that would not be built and a law that was so good that no one knew what it was. This led to destructive rebellions and wars. This fictitious parable aims to prove to Andrade that the Huitoto do not represent the decay of old civilizations, but rather their overcoming. The Huitoto man suggests that they are now long past the era of palaces and laws. The subtext of the parable is the historical context of the Huitoto land reservation—that is, the rubber wars, atrocities, and enslavement that victimized the Huitoto population in particular[34]—which is subtly addressed when the Huitoto man remarks that white men defeated the Huitoto, and this is why whites give them land to work on and impose a law obligating them to work twenty days

every year. The twenty-day work schedule initially disregarded by Andrade as almost nothing—"they chew coca and live" (124)—is reframed by the Huitoto man as an imposition of the conquerors, not a minimal condition established by a benevolent government. The man explains to Andrade that if they could, the Huitoto would not work the twenty days: "it is too much" (127).

This story constitutes more than a primitivist celebration of Indigenous wisdom and a critique of Western civilization. The very structure of the narrative challenges the temporal structure of modern historicism. In the end, the Huitoto confesses that he has some coca leaves but refuses to sell them to Andrade—who stands here as the urban traveler who wants to consume Amazonian natural and cultural resources—because the Brazilian has an emperor who forbids him from chewing coca, and adds: "It is very late, no, it is very early for you to not be unhappy" (*O turista aprendiz*, 127). He does not say it is too late, but too *early* for the happiness of the white traveler. In doing so, the Huitoto again places his (desired) mode of living—free from the imposition of labor and primitive accumulation—in the future, not the past, of Western civilization. This doesn't mean that Andrade's Huitoto live in a utopian future instead of a primitive past. Andrade's fictitious account of the Huitoto's history emphasizes how Amazonian modernity is, in Tsing's words, "shaped and transformed by long histories of local/global networks of power, trade, and meaning."[35] At the end, Andrade's tale is also about the appropriative character of ethnographic work: the Huitoto man reveals his awareness that his story, like those collected by ethnographers and used by artists like Andrade, will also be the subject of the poet's work of art: "I told it to you so you would write a more beautiful song" (127).

DESIRE, CONTAGION, AND THE MALARIAL WORKER

While his fictitious encounter with the "ironic Huitoto" provides Andrade with a criticism of capitalism and primitive accumulation, in which the writer/photographer takes part, it is the Amazonian worker and, more specifically, the *maleiteiro* (an individual chronically infected with malaria) who provides him with an example of a non-appropriative, unproductive way of looking in the midst of capitalist ruins. Although the stereotype of the lazy and work-averse Brazilian had already been thematized in his work, Andrade's modernist reframing of malaria from a

stigma of the Amazon into a desirable mode of existence is not just a reevaluation of unproductiveness or *preguiça* (laziness).[36] More than a representation of the malarial attitude as a cultural trait, Andrade's writings on *maleiteiros* start as accounts of his embodied encounters with malarial men, and how they affect or contaminate him. These encounters are not located in some imaginary, primitive Amazon. They take place in a post-rubber boom Amazon, in environments transformed by the extractive industry. Andrade's self-declared obsession with malaria (*O turista aprendiz*, 418) comes up for the first time in an encounter with a beautiful "moreno" (dark-skinned) man in Peru (117) who, despite causing a *frisson* among the tourists, does not show any interest in looking at them. Years later, Andrade reformulated this experience into a "philosophy of malaria," which he developed in two *crônicas* written for *Diário Nacional* in 1931.[37] In these articles, malaria is characterized as a mode of existence, a state of "indifference, egalitarian semi-death" (418) and slowness, a delay in relation to everything, and above all, a lack of curiosity, which is the "primary element of progress" (422).

Very few scholars have delved into Andrade's writing on malaria at length. In two articles published in 2013 and 2019, Nísia Trindade Lima and André Botelho[38] argue that it reflects a form of empathy or cultural relativization that allows him to appreciate the Amazonian mode of life, while Kunigami reads the malarial gaze as a model for the filmic experience centered on an immobile spectator. In dialogue with them, I discuss Andrade's reframing of malaria from a stigma of the tropics into a desirable mode of resistance to capitalist modernization, in which I find not a mode of empathic relativism but rather, similarly to Kunigami, a critical engagement with the history of the biopolitical modernization of the region. Differently from them, I explore the contradiction that lies in the fact that Andrade obsessively desires to be contaminated by a state of non-desire. I am interested in how Andrade's desire for contagion challenges the fears of racial and interspecies contact in the transformed environments of a post-rubber boom Amazon. I contend that it does so through a pedagogy of the gaze that, contrary to the medical gaze, teaches an embodied, affectable mode of looking that is, like photography itself, both transitory and unlimited, always pointing out to something other.

Andrade was obviously aware of the multifaceted role played by malaria in the Brazilian imagery and discourse surrounding state and capitalist expansion in the Amazonian region. The poet builds on the national imagination linking malaria to a racialized Amazonian iner-

tia and backwardness in order to reassess the temporality of progress and capitalist productivity. This imaginary was derived from the intensive development, institutionalization, and popularization of tropical medicine in Brazil in the first decades of the twentieth century, which was closely linked to the Brazilian Republic's efforts to integrate and modernize the backlands of the country and to allow for the maximum exploitation of its resources.[39] The most important surveys of malaria carried out in the Amazon before World War I were, as the science historian Nancy Stepan explains, almost exclusively related to the rubber industry.[40] These surveys and the medical reports that came out of them were widely publicized, and the sanitarians were interviewed and featured in the press as modern heroes who would finally conquer the Amazon, making it safe for white people.[41]

In some instances, such as that of the Madeira-Mamoré Railway and other infrastructure works controlled by foreign companies, national and imperialist interests in the management of disease were intertwined. The imperialist prospects for capitalist expansion in the Amazon brought about by the renewed field of tropical medicine become clear, for example, in a speech given by Dr. Carl Lovelace, who had worked for the Brazil Railway Company as the chief doctor of the Candelaria Hospital in Porto Velho, at the Brazilian National Academy of Medicine in 1912:

> Amazonas and Mato Grosso constitute an impressively rich Eldorado, waiting to be conquered. The ghosts of disease and death inherent to the tropical climates have disappeared because now we know that the maladies of equatorial regions are not due to heat or humidity, but are instead caused by parasites presently mastered by human intelligence.[42]

Dr. Lovelace's work in the Candelaria Hospital in Porto Velho was, in turn, supported by the Brazilian physician, epidemiologist, and public health officer Dr. Oswaldo Cruz. Invited by the Brazil Railway Company in 1910 to assess medical conditions among the Madeira-Mamoré workers, Cruz declared that malaria, "a preventable disease," was the "only serious terror in these regions" and that its control was key to the development of the Amazon.[43] In order to control malaria, Cruz recommended strict measures that included compulsory quinine treatment for workers and isolation of the sick. Moreover, workers should have their blood tested for parasitic infection before being hired, and those who

disobeyed the measures imposed by medical professionals in the labor camps should be fired.

The fact that the main cause of death in the region was malaria is relevant: malaria can infect and reinfect a single individual several times, generally causing milder symptoms on each occasion. In populations without immunity, yellow fever, for example, is much more lethal than malaria, but while yellow fever confers full immunity on survivors, malaria victims can build resistance only through repeated bouts. The adult populations in regions where the disease is endemic, while not being immune, are largely able to live with the disease. If, as Lovelace suggested, with the microbiological revolution, mosquitoes and parasites replaced heat and humidity, or even race and moral degeneration, as the tropical threats that should be addressed, the racialized body of the chronically infected Amazonian dweller nevertheless continued to be an object both of fear and intervention.

Inspired by the new sanitary ideals, Brazil's coastal political elite started attributing the country's failure to be fully modern to the fact that the population of its vast backlands was ill and therefore in a state of lethargic unproductiveness. In their analysis of this phenomenon, Nísia Trindade Lima and Gilberto Hochman examined the role of the Brazilian hygienist movement in the early twentieth century in shifting the focus in representations of the inhabitants of the backlands from the issue of race to the concept of disease.[44] But even if race was not explicitly identified as a factor in the development of diseases such as malaria, whose contagion was now attributed exclusively to parasites transmitted by mosquitoes, the racialized body was still associated with the danger of contagion, and an acquired immune resistance to malaria served as a mark of weakness, of dangerous permeability to the nonhuman, of irrationality, and—crucially—of resistance to modernization.[45] If, as Denise Ferreira da Silva argues, the European imperialist subject (i.e., the white man) was regarded as a self-determining subject in opposition to other, more affectable, racialized colonial bodies—that is, bodies subject to natural, biological factors—the latter's affectability was no longer explained primarily by theories of racial or environmental determinism[46]—but public discourses on sanitation and disease control still presented racialized bodies as dangerously permeable bodies.

In his 1910 report, Cruz suggested that the Madeira-Mamoré doctors were unable to control malaria in the region due to the workers who, out of "ignorance, negligence, and obstinacy," did not follow the company's instructions.[47] Even though it was well-known that quinine

did present a risk of serious side effects, this emphasis on workers' "irrational" resistance to taking quinine was repeatedly mentioned in medical and newspaper articles about disease control in the Madeira-Mamoré region, and became one of the means through which the racialization of disease entered the public debate about malaria control in the region.[48] But it was not only the undisciplined railway workers who presented an obstacle to the control of the disease. As Cruz argues in his report, the administration of quinine had to be rigidly disciplined, in part because the dose administered had to be strong enough to kill a quinine-resistant race of the parasite "that has been for a long time carefully and insistently created by the local *seringueiros* [rubber tappers]."[49] Here, the obstacle is the Amazonian dwellers, more specifically rubber tappers, many of them migrants from the poor and dry backlands of the Northeast who had been in the Amazon region long enough to be affected by and to affect the local plasmodium parasites that cause malaria, helping them to acquire resistance to quinine.

Despite governmental and private measures of disease control, malaria-related infections and death rates in the Madeira-Mamoré region did not fall significantly. The railway was finished thanks to its success in recruiting (and importing) thousands of national and foreign workers. Absent from Cruz's and other reports at the time is the fact that the huge human displacement brought about by the Madeira-Mamoré Railway, which was seen as both the effect of—and the solution to—the human loss related to malaria, was, in fact, one of the main causes of the epidemic. Moreover, surveys and reports of the time mostly ignored the role of manmade environmental transformation in the spread of the disease, and focused instead on how the disease was encumbering the advance of the human activities that were transforming the environment.

Described as a means for the malaria parasite's reproducibility and for disease contagion, the racialized malarial bodies become an image of the belatedness of the Amazon, associated to visual markers such as yellowness, empty gaze, and enlarged stomachs. In his report about the Madeira-Mamoré region, Cruz notes:

> The region is infected to such an extent that the people do not have the notion of a healthy state, and for them "being ill" constitutes normality. When asked about their health, children—the few who exist—simply respond "I don't have disease, I have spleen." This is how they characterize the

> huge splenomegaly whose presence they feel and which follows the repeated bouts of malaria.[50]

By including in his medical report this informal interaction with Amazonian children, Cruz emphasizes both their normalization of their contaminated state and the bodily transformations that result from that contamination, such as the enlargement of the spleen, or splenomegaly. For the sanitarians, this perception, or normalization itself, was part of the problem that should be addressed. For the coastal political elites, this queered,[51] transformed body became a threat to the body of the modern nation.

The malarial state of disinterest desired by Andrade engages with the legacy of these medical surveys in multiple ways: while the malarial disinterested, unproductive gaze challenges the "biopolitical" emphasis, to use Michel Foucault's term, on life as a resource to be managed, optimized, and extracted, the traveler's queer desire for—and to be contaminated by—the malarial body challenges the authoritative medical gaze. In Andrade's account of his encounter with malarial men, both their "dark-skinned" malarial bodies and their gaze trigger a desire for contagion, a desire to be transformed by the encounter with the *maleiteiros*.

Working against a naturalized association between malaria, the tropical jungle, and backwardness, Andrade's first reference to his encounter with the *maleiteiros* takes place in the midst of capitalist ruins. The scenery described in the diary entry for June 18 is a hot, poor town on the border with Peru called Remate de Males. A photograph taken by Andrade during a walk across the town shows two floating shacks and two canoes at the margin of a small river (figure 4.8). As usual, Andrade captions the image twice: "Aqui outrora se tomaram banhos" ("Here baths were once taken") and "Banheiros Amazônicos" ("Amazonian bathrooms"). This combination of captions and image talks about time and the effects of capitalism: the place where once one could bathe, a clean river, has become the place where the waste of the extractive economy is disposed. Remate de Males presents such a sad spectacle that Olívia Guedes Penteado, Andrade's travel companion and a coffee baroness, decides to go back to the boat after a brief attempt to accompany the group on a walk in the town. She "hid in her cabin," according to Andrade, so she would "not see the local people, without exception, eaten by malaria" (*O turista aprendiz*, 117).

Immediately after the *rainha do café* (the coffee queen), as Andrade calls her throughout the diary, refuses to see the people eaten up by

Figure 4.8. "Aqui outrora se tomaram banhos"; "Banheiros Amazônicos" ("Here baths were once taken"; "Amazonian bathrooms"). Photograph by Mário de Andrade, Remate de Males, Brazil, June 18, 1927. Reproduced by permission of Arquivo IEB-USP, Fundo Mário de Andrade, código de referência: MA-F-0298.

malaria, a "dark-skinned Peruvian man of extraordinary beauty," despite being "entirely devoured by malaria" (*O turista aprendiz*, 117), enters the boat. The man, who causes enormous excitement among the travelers, resembles Richard Barthelmess, an American movie star who had a large female following in the 1920s. The man's body, in Andrade's account, is also visibly infected, transformed: Andrade describes the malarial man's skin as one of *lisura absurda*—an absurd smoothness or uniformity, "an earthy brown without pleasure" (118). Besides being an image to be looked at, however, it is the man's mode of looking, or his refusal to look, that attracts Andrade's attention. It didn't matter how much the travelers, particularly the women, tried to attract his attention; the malarial man would not turn his gaze towards them. Andrade repeats at least four times that the man "did not look" at anything, even though this not-looking was never an active gaze: it was neither performative nor shy, and thus it was even free of any effort at self-concealment.

In this sense, the malarial attitude can be understood against an increasingly industrialized, action-oriented world. In discussing what she calls an "ethos of non-appropriative contentment" in nineteenth-

century British and American literature, the literary scholar Anne-Lise François offers an interesting model for interpreting this kind of non-instrumental ethos. She contrasts it to the "aesthetics of sublimity," the privilege of the non-representable that is "characteristic of romantic investments in the heroic work of imagination."[52] The nonheroic, effortless, and passive attitude, on the other hand, allows for a conception of the "non-instrumental" that is removed from "the concept of infinite, never-to-be-satisfied ethical responsibility found in the romantic sublime's postmodern heirs." Like the characters François analyzes, Andrade's malarial man is not heroic. If he delivers any knowledge or provides any alternative to capitalist instrumentality, he does so effortlessly and passively.

The passivity of the malarial attitude reminds us of Andrade's description of the butterflies that arise at the railway, drawn in the wake of the whirlwind formed by the passing train. Neither sublime nor instrumental, the butterflies move with the flow, adapting to the change in atmosphere provoked by the train. This passive, purposeless movement delivers the most vivid contrast to the train's forward and purposeful movement.

Besides being a model for a disinterested gaze, however, malarial skin is also, like the butterflies, an image to be looked at. While the butterflies are blurred, almost invisible in Andrade's photograph in Porto Velho, malarial skin is described as absurdly uniform, smooth, lacking defined lines and texture. The word *lisura* in Portuguese can also mean honesty or candor. Thus, Andrade reads in the smooth skin of malaria both the sign of the disease and a mode of being that is pure surface, neither an expression of internal struggles nor hidden intentions, nor a product of artifice or deception.

The *lisura absurda* of malarial skin can also be compared to Andrade's discussion of Charlie Chaplin's composition of Carlito's face in a 1934 article for *Espírito Novo* titled "Caras" ("Faces").[53] According to Andrade, the most exquisite aspect of Carlito's face is that it looks like a face that has been drawn. It is entirely created by the camera, but at the same time it is anti-cinematic in the sense that it lacks shadow or movement, giving the impression of being a real man with a static, drawn face seen among "real people" with moving faces. But most important, Carlito's face is not actually a mask. We do not have the sense that behind Carlito's face is Charlie Chaplin pretending he is Carlito. The perceived reality is that of one entity—Carlito/Chaplin—possessing a drawn, cartoonish face. In order to explain this further, Andrade com-

pares Chaplin to Buster Keaton, whose face is created through the aesthetic element of immobility, which is, however, just external:

> It is not part of the structure of the face: it doesn't come from the bony carcass of the face, it doesn't come from the flesh, the epidermis. And less so from the cinematographic machine. It is not a plastic element. It is an element of the psychological order, added to the structure of the face to give it comic interest. ("Caras," 57)

In contrast to Carlito, Keaton's face generates interest, a desire to know the Keaton behind the mask, even to befriend him. Carlito's face, on the contrary, does not provoke interest because there is nothing to be discovered behind it.

Like Charlie Chaplin's creation, the malarial man embodies an aesthetic element that fosters a gaze that remains at the surface of the image: the *maleiteiro's* appearance is not a manifestation of internal psychological dimensions. The malarial state is pure skin, pure surface. In this sense, it is not much different from a passage in which Andrade describes the landscape in the north, where the excess of light covers everything in a "violent epidermis, perfectly delimited, that does not hold any mystery . . . the soul of things disappeared" (*O turista aprendiz*, 188), and everything has an honest "brutality of the 'thing' in itself" (188). From this brutal concreteness comes a "sensuality of contact" that *contagia* (contaminates) the traveler with a "sensory life, that intoxicates." It is interesting to note that Andrade uses the medical verb *contagiar* to refer to the effect that this brutal epidermic environment with no soul has on the spectator. Similar to Andrade's description of the landscape, what the malarial man's image instills in the spectator-traveler is not so much a desire to know him, but rather a desire for contagion: "And then I desired to have this malaria, so that nothing else would interest me in this world in which everything interests me excessively" (118). It is as an image, not as an example to be learned, that the malarial man contaminates the spectator with a malarial way of looking.

In Andrade's second mention of the disinterested malarial gaze in his diary, on July 17, the scene is repeated: a (different) man with a similarly smooth face enters the boat, and the women try in vain to attract his attention, "desiring to be desired" (*O turista aprendiz*, 166). This repetition, however, is somewhat different. In a similar gesture to

that of re-captioning his photographs, the repetition in the written diary allows the reader to see something they had not seen before. Andrade tells us that the man, whose "cloudy eyes do not see anything" (165), does not turn his gaze toward the women, and adds, "I can't even begin to imagine what the problem is, but the fact is that it exists, it's true, I saw it" (166). Playing with the authoritative genre of testimonial travel writing, Andrade reminds the reader of the contradiction inherent in his providing an eyewitness account of a scene of not seeing. Refusing to look, the eyes of the malarial man become an object for the traveler's gaze, which now occupies the center of the narrative.

In talking about his own gaze, Andrade's writing becomes more clear, more professorial, as if it were important to recount his learning process. The traveler's gaze is, at first, an inquiring, curious gaze. The narrator wonders what type of problem is behind the malarial eyes. He notes the difference, the visible signs of the infection. Andrade's first impulse to look for the "problem" at play is then transformed into the attempt to name a phenomenon: the malarial state is not the result of a problem that needs to be solved, but rather the "dilution of problems in indifference. Or in patience, or in monotony, which has more objectivity" (*O turista aprendiz*, 166). Note that objectivity here is not on the side of the inquiring scientific gaze; rather, it is a gaze that remains on the surface level of the image. The abandonment of the need to scrutinize the "problem" behind the cloudy malarial eyes leads Andrade once again to end the scene with his desire for contagion. "The image of the man haunts me," he writes, wishing "to have malaria like this, that could make me indifferent" (166). Here, Andrade's desire to have malaria appears more clearly as a recognition of his own difference from the non-desiring malarial man. Andrade cannot appropriate, or incorporate, this mode of being, because more than a mode of being, the malarial man is defined as an "image" that "haunts him," affects him, provokes in him a certain way of looking. Again, Andrade's pedagogy of the gaze is phenomenological: it proposes a way of looking that does not come from the subject, or his subjectivity, but is provoked by his encounter with an image.

Based on his recognition of difference—he cannot be the other—and affectation—he can be transformed by his encounter with the other—the politics of looking in Andrade's *O turista aprendiz* is more fragile and transient than that of other works discussed in this book. This politics of looking, in which the writer places himself within a complex web of unequal exchanged gazes, is highlighted by the fact that the first ma-

laria scene occurs while Olivia Guedes Penteado is hiding in her cabin, refusing to look, because she doesn't want to see the effects of malaria on the population. In order to enjoy her trip discovering the Amazon, the celebrated aristocrat, a generous patron of modernist artists, has to turn a blind eye to what she recognizes as the misery and decay of the country's backland. Meanwhile, the party's noisy and narcissistic urban girls, who, according to the writer, embrace all the "modern liberties" (*O turista aprendiz*, 119), unashamedly desire the gaze (and the desire) of the malarial man. Between these two poles, the modernist poet affirms his own desire, and his own pleasure in looking at the other. But in looking, he recognizes both the inequality present in this (lack of) exchange of gazes and the way this difference affects his way of looking. Both alluding to the authority of the ethnographic gaze—"It's true, I saw it"—and subverting it, Andrade describes the malarial man as an image—"the image of the man haunts me." This image provokes in him a transitory, non-inquisitive gaze.

Thus, if the poet desires in vain the malarial state of non-desire, perhaps it is because the disinterested malarial gaze is not a quality he can possess, but is, rather, an effect that some images—the brutally bright landscape and the smooth malarial skin—have on him. Although this is made clearer in the second apparition of a malarial man, the first passage about the topic already suggests that the malarial man is an image, almost a cinematic image, by comparing him to the American movie star Barthelmess. If the "effect of Carlito's face," which lacks shadow and movement, is "entirely produced by the cinematographic camera" ("Caras," 26) as is Barthelmess's seductiveness, could the photographic camera produce the malarial face? Could the photographic portrait produce a face that does not generate an inquiring gaze, a gaze that looks behind the face for a psychological character, an ethnographic meaning, or the symptom of a medical condition?

This leads us to the question of Andrade's thoughts on the photographic medium itself, which he elaborated in only two published articles, one about the artist Jorge de Castro's photographic exhibition and the other about the poet Jorge de Lima's experiments with photomontage. In his 1940 review of Jorge de Castro's exhibition, titled "O homem que se achou" ("The Man Who Found Himself"), Andrade praises the artist's transition from drawing to photography, which he defines as a form of art that, "like drawing," is still black and white, but is "even more realistic and more phantasmagorical."[54] As is common with Andrade's art criticism, the review becomes a vehicle for a

meditation on the specificities of various media, which never appear to him in isolation, but through their articulation with other media. In discussing photography, Andrade suggests a recurrent and subtle approximation with drawing. This comparison is interesting for our purposes, first, because of its connection with Carlito's *cara de desenho* (drawn face), and second, because this analogy allows Andrade to highlight the temporal dimension of the "immobile material" of both drawing and photography.

Before developing his definition of photography, Andrade reminds the reader that Jorge de Castro's exhibition does not include any still lifes, which the critic deems an appropriate decision because photographic still lifes give him the impression of looking at a photograph of a painting. This is because the photographic still life "steals from painting its principles of composition and balance, which are naturally imposed by the rectangle of the canvas."[55] Photography, in contrast, encompasses an unlimited field. A similar unlimitedness is claimed by Andrade in another article, "Do desenho" ("On Drawing"), to be the principle of drawing.[56]

In order to understand the unlimitedness of photography and its relationship to time, I will take a detour to examine this more detailed article on drawing, in which the unlimited character of drawing is explained in temporal terms. Drawing, according to Andrade, is an intermediary art that exists between the temporal arts, such as prose and poetry, and the spatial arts, such as sculpture or painting. Different from other such intermediary arts—he cites dance as an example, but we could also add film—drawing is not an art of movement because its "material is immobile" ("Do desenho," 71). And different from the plastic arts, such as painting or sculpture, drawings are not limited by the edges and margins of the paper: "In truth, drawing is unlimited, because not even the trace . . . delimits it" (74). Drawing, Andrade affirms, is "at the same time a delimiter that has no limits" (74). It is not a closed fact, like painting or sculpture; that is why it is not made to be framed and hung on a wall (71). The proper way to handle drawings is to store them in a folder and leaf through them. This interesting and temporal recommendation for the viewing of drawings is also manifested in his affirmation that, in contrast to painting's aspirations to immortality, or divinity, drawing is "much more agnostic, [it] is a way of transitorily defining [*definir transitoriamente*], if I may express myself this way" (75). This awkward use of the verb *definir* (to define), accompanied by the adverb *transitoriamente* (transitorily) captures the combination of immobility

and impermanence that Andrade sees in drawings. This transitory delineation and this process of delineating both rely on conventional traces to create "a finite vision, moment, or gesture" (75). The connection with photography comes to mind instantly, but it is to writing that the writer alludes in his always-entangled definitions of various media; here, he claims that drawing is like a proverb. Different from a common phrase or a spontaneous expression that stands for something outside of itself, the proverb is a phrase that goes through a process of purification because it is constructed over time, without losing its transitory character. In both its duration and transitoriness it is a form of "wisdom," because it escapes the contingent character of a common phrase. A proverb is not eternal, since it can always be contradicted by another proverb (76). In a similar manner, drawing is unlimited, it is not defined by the frame; its coming into being (in both its production and reception) happens over time, and the result is both transitory and agnostic.

For Andrade, photography is, like drawing, immobile, unlimited, and transitory. It is not contained by the frame, and although it relies on conventions, it is agnostic, for it does not aspire to the divine or the eternal. I do not wish to imply that Andrade establishes a total identity between photography and drawing. In his article on Jorge de Castro, Andrade defines photography as a "fact of light."[57] In this sense, it is closer to cinema than to drawing, because its essence is to "register reality as light." But because it is not a medium of movement, photography's means of registering time can be compared to that of drawing because both encompass *campos ilimitados* (unlimited fields)[58] in their immobile materiality. Let us recall the scene in which Andrade travels through the Madeira-Mamoré region, and the train stops for him to photograph an Indigenous hut. If the moving train is the prototype for cinematic spectatorship, a photograph taken when the train has stopped registers time in multiple ways. The immobile image bears the trace of tradition and creativity, of work, and of the "future pride" of the nation. Another way in which time can be inscribed in a photograph appears in a quotation at the end of Andrade's review of Jorge de Castro's photographs. The passage is actually a quote from an artist named Santa Rosa (who interestingly is a draftsman), who suggests that Castro creates his photographs by "searching in the appearance of objects and beings [for] their moment of poetic transfiguration,"[59] like in Andrade's own photo "Vitrolas futuras."

While photography can lead to an appropriative gaze, its objectivity and openness, its transitory and agnostic character, can also produce a

non-inquisitive, unfixing, and embodied gaze that wavers. In his montage of images and texts, Andrade explores this temporal unlimitedness of the photographic, for example, by fostering a processual reading (as if leafing through drawings in a folder) that prevents the fixing of the Amazonian subject.

Four years after he returned from the Amazon, Andrade published two articles in *Diário Nacional* based on his encounter with malarial men, titled "Maleita I" and "Maleita II." If, in his diary, the malarial man is an image, an image that reminds Andrade of an American movie star and speaks of the transitory experience of looking and the way in which images affect the spectator, the articles take, as Kunigami has already suggested, a slightly different path. In these articles, detached from the context of the travel diary, the malarial gaze becomes a "philosophy of malaria." The author begins "Maleita I" by trying to convince his readers—urban newspaper consumers who regard him as a "crazy futurist"—of the seriousness of his desire to get malaria. When rebutting his readers' hypothetical argument that he certainly would not want to go through the malarial fevers, Andrade clarifies that what he desires is the post-fever state of torpor, comparing it to the effect of certain drugs. He reminds his readers that, after all, "in our *idiotíssima* [idiotic] imported civilization" (*O turista aprendiz*, 419), drug users often go through unpleasant experiences in the name of future pleasures. Among these necessary evils he cites the grimaces and sniffs of the cocaine user, the injections of the morphine user, and adds that even the consumers of alcohol have to suffer temporarily, for "the great majority of cocktails, the great majority of strong drinks are supremely unpleasant. And we drink all that for a vast number of tendencies, aspirations, curiosities, vanities . . . and for the fulfillment of pleasures of posterior physio-psychic states" (419). Based on the articles' comparison between malaria and "our civilization's" modes of achieving altered modes of perception, some scholars have linked Andrade's "philosophy of malaria" to metropolitan modernism's praise of both intoxication and avant-garde primitivisms. Lima and Botelho have argued that Andrade's "defense of malaria" is an exercise in cultural relativism and a mode of challenging the reader's ethnocentrism.[60] In comparing malaria to modes of intoxication familiar to his readers, or, in his words, common to "our civilization," Andrade seeks to defend an Amazonian, stigmatized mode of living. It is interesting to note, however, that although it is certainly present in his diaries, this cultural question only becomes central in the 1931 articles. These articles shift the focus from the effect

that images have in triggering a malarial mode of perception to a "philosophy of malaria" as an alternative mode of living and perceiving the world that is proper to the Amazon. This shift is confirmed by the fact that Andrade begins the articles by explaining the theory intellectually, then situates it in the Amazonian reality, and only then narrates his (now anecdoctal) encounter with the malarial man at the end of the second article, "Maleita II."

In these articles, written as a dialogue with skeptical urban readers about a "philosophy of malaria," the malarial effect loses the situational character inherent to a scene of encounter and becomes connected to a mode of living proper to the Amazonian space. Even though malaria was not exclusive to the northern part of the country, in his articles Andrade builds a connection between the malarial state and the Amazonian environment and life. Andrade admits that he does not want to have malaria in São Paulo, where he has deadlines to fulfill, but he desires "the disease with all its environment and expression, in an *igarapé* [watercourse] of the Madeira river . . . in silence, surrounded by gods, questions, patience. With episodic work or no work at all" (*O turista aprendiz*, 419). Even though the malarial men of the diaries are workers in modern extractive industries, in the articles Andrade argues that the malarial state, an organized laziness, a state of sublime semi-death, should only happen there, "at that end of the world, delayed at least a month relative to the rest of the world" (421).

Despite being localized to the Amazon, this phenomenon is capable of putting the entire Europeanized south into perspective:

> Curiosity is a curse. And in hot lands it is simply made in Germany, *camelote*, imported, lack of culture. That is why I dream of malaria, which must put an end to my curiosity and calm my disgraceful vanity of needing to be someone in this competition here in the South. (*O turista aprendiz*, 422)

In this passage, we see two gestures common to Andrade's work: what Antônio Cândido called *desrecalque localista*, in which the local is not opposed to the universal, but can be a privileged expression of it; and an interest in inventing the basis for a national culture.[61] I will discuss Andrade's interest in ethnography, cultural education, and cultural heritage in the next section. For now, it is important to remember that while the "Maleita" articles develop several ideas already present in the diaries, such as the critique of curiosity as an aspect of modernization and the

temporality of progress, in the diaries, greater emphasis is placed on contagion in the process of looking, allowing Andrade to thematize the question of the gaze in the context of inequality.

LOOKING AND ACTING

In an interview with *Diário Nacional* on August 20, 1927, soon after he returned to São Paulo, Andrade publicly announced for the first time the title of his future book *O turista aprendiz (Uma excursão)* (*The Apprentice Tourist [An Excursion]*). Ten days later, in a letter to his friend Manuel Bandeira, Andrade lamented the fact that his editor had turned down his manuscript—"he says he can't publish it, and he must be right"[62]—and added that, for this reason, he would not continue working on his notes.[63] As with other unpublished projects, such as his novel *Café*, Andrade used fragments from his Amazonian diaries in other works, such as in his articles published in *Diário Nacional*, his poetry—the book *Remate de Males* was named after the town where he met the malarial man—and his novel *Macunaíma*, published in 1928. The opposite also happened: Andrade turned a poem he had sent to the writer Manuel Bandeira, with whom he kept up a constant and voluminous correspondence, into a diary entry.[64]

Andrade never entirely gave up the idea, however, of turning his Amazonian diary into a travel book. His manuscripts and letters reveal that, in addition to the 1927 version of the manuscript, the author typed out a new one fifteen years later in 1942, three years before his death. In 1943 he added a preface to the manuscript in which he affirmed that, as much as the text displeased him, he could not "destroy it" (*O turista aprendiz*, 49). As important as the fact that Andrade did not publish the diaries is the fact that he never gave up working on them. This last section of the chapter explores the trajectory of these archival materials. Considering both what pleased and displeased Andrade about the diaries, and examining his work in the late 1920s and the early 1940s, I suggest that the Amazonian diary is at once central to understand Andrade's political and aesthetic positions and odd in relation to them.

The final version of the manuscript, the one with the 1943 preface, can be found today inside a green folder at the University of São Paulo's IEB—the Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros (Institute of Brazilian Studies). On the folder's cover, Andrade wrote a title and subtitle, and drew an Indigenous-looking figure wearing a disproportionally small and

almost falling-off European-style crown. This satirical figure, referencing the colonial history of the region, was captioned "AMERICA," and the complete title, *Turista aprendiz: Viagem pelo Amazonas até o Peru, pelo Madeira até a Bolívia e por Marajó até dizer chega* (*Voyage through the Amazon to Peru, up the Madeira to Bolivia and through Marajó until one says enough*), parodies the titles of pre- and post-independence travel literatures and, more specifically, of a particular travel account written by Andrade's own grandfather.[65] Andrade died in 1945, and his manuscript was published for the first time in 1976, prepared by the researcher Telê Ancona Lopez.

Published under the title *O turista aprendiz*, the 1976 edition includes the 1927 Amazonian diary and other materials from Andrade's travels to the northeast of the country in 1928, thus suggesting that they consist of two parts of the book he had hoped to publish.[66] Lopez's choice is justified by the fact that the 1928 materials were found in the same green folder as the diary manuscript, inside a sub-folder entitled "Viagem Etnográfica" ("Ethnographic Voyage"). The later materials are composed of 58 clippings from a total of 70 of Andrade's articles published by the *Diário Nacional* from December 1927 through March 1929,[67] plus an envelope containing travel notes taken during his 1928 trip. Unlike the 1927 diary text, these notes are not elaborate and are mostly brief, frequently noting ethnographic work he had done, people he had met, dance or music spectacles he attended, and even the partying and drugs he shared with friends. In contrast to the 1927 Amazonian diary, which was rewritten, typed, and edited, the 1928 notes and articles on the Northeast were never organized into book form,[68] and there is no clear reason to believe that they were meant to be published as a second part of *O turista aprendiz*. We find a similar pattern in the photographic archive: while the 1927 photographs, which comprise the majority of the photographs,[69] contain elaborate captions—and, as noted earlier, more than one layer of captions—only a few of the 1928 photographs are captioned, and these captions are mostly descriptive, quite different from the uniquely multilayered relationship between photographs and diary analyzed throughout this chapter. Although it is difficult to identify specific changes Andrade made to his initial diary notes since the first handwritten version is lost, a close analysis of photographs and diary shows a deliberate dialogue between them; some captions were written later, probably influenced by the diary text, and the rewriting of the diary was probably also influenced by the photographs. One example of this can be found in my analysis of the butter-

flies in the photograph of Andrade sitting on the tracks at Porto Velho (figure 0.1, discussed earlier in this chapter).

In the most recent edition of *O turista aprendiz*, published in 2015, editors Telê Ancona Lopez and Tatiana Longo Figueiredo rightly choose to make a clear distinction between the 1927 and 1928 materials, noting that the latter do not constitute a book project designed by the author.[70] Instead, they publish the 1928 materials noting that they may have served as source materials for the development of certain passages of the 1927 diary.[71] This clarification is important for understanding the specificity of *O turista aprendiz* and its form because it prevents us from classifying Andrade's Amazonian account as an "ethnographic voyage,"[72] an expression only used by Andrade in reference to his 1928 trip across the Northeast. Although *O turista aprendiz* contains some material with ethnographic interest, parts of the book parody ethnography, and despite Andrade's undeniable interest in ethnographic work, his voyage to the Amazon was not a research trip, and its purpose cannot be reduced to a plan to trace, in Lopez's words in the 1976 edition, the "coordinates for a national culture"[73] through a search for the primitive and the popular.

To examine the singularity of the Amazonian trip and of the manuscript of *O turista aprendiz*, I propose to re-situate this trip between Andrade's "ethnographic voyage," made in 1928, and an earlier "voyage of discovery of Brazil" that the writer made in 1924. This was how Andrade referred to a trip to the state of Minas Gerais that he made in the company of central figures of the São Paulo *movimento modernista*, including the writer Oswald de Andrade, the painter Tarsila do Amaral, and Olivia Guedes Penteado, to celebrate the visit of the French poet Blaise Cendrars to Brazil. The year 1924 is considered the date when the main figures of *modernismo* turned their attention to the question of *brasilidade*, or the search for an avant-garde artistic expression that would be rooted in the popular cultures of Brazil.[74] The year was also marked, in the words of Fernando Rosenberg, by a more general geopolitical "critique of the modern as a global project,"[75] as well as by a preoccupation with Brazil's "positionality" in this context. Andrade's playful and ironic reference to his "voyage of discovery" captures well the simultaneously critical and optimistic tone of his 1924 trip. More than any other modernist, Mário de Andrade engaged, in the years following this voyage, in a more serious and systematic ethnographic research into Brazilian cultural manifestations[76] and dedicated himself to the preservation and democratization of the Brazilian cultural heritage.

His focus on the study of Brazilian culture culminated, after the 1930 revolution, in his work as the director of the Department of Culture of São Paulo (1935–38).[77] During his tenure there, Andrade founded the Discoteca Pública Municipal (Municipal Record Library, 1935); created the Sociedade de Etnografia e Folclore, directed by Dina Lévi-Strauss (1936); organized the Missão de Pesquisa Folclóricas (Mission for Folklore Research,1938); built parks and public libraries; and prepared a plan for the creation of SPHAN, the Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (National Historic and Artistic Heritage Service) established by the Brazilian government in 1937.[78] But back in the 1920s, more specifically in 1926, the year before his Amazonian trip, Andrade had planned a journey to the Northeast to carry out ethnographic work. More than during the flamboyant group voyage in 1924 to Minas Gerais, for the trip across the Northeast he planned to pursue a systematic collection of data, in particular on local music and dance traditions. This planned research trip did not happen in 1926, and an unexpected invitation from Olivia Guedes Penteado to go to the Amazon in 1927 postponed Andrade's ethnographic trip to the Northeast until the following year.

Andrade accepted Penteado's invitation expecting, as he reveals in the diary, that the trip would look somewhat like the 1924 trip, in the company of a fun group of artists and intellectuals.[79] However, as soon as the poet joins Penteado in the boat that will take them from Rio de Janeiro to the north of the country, he realizes that the trip will not be anything like the 1924 trip (*O turista aprendiz*, 55). Instead of a group of artists, the caravan is composed of himself, Penteado, her niece Mag, and the modernist couple Oswald de Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral's daughter Dolur. Andrade finds himself a member of the entourage of the coffee queen, who will be introduced to the governors of each state they visit. The entourage is highly honored and has to follow tiring protocols and attend official meetings at almost every stop. The travelers' distinction—in both meanings of the word: what gives them prominence and what separates them from the others, marking their difference—is heightened by these political rituals. Neither a member of a modernist caravan nor an ethnographer focused on the systematic collection of data about local dances and festivals, Andrade travels through the Amazon planning to write a book about traveling across the region.[80] Even though the traveler, or the apprentice tourist, is at the center of the narration, the narrator does not transcend, as Lévi-Strauss did years later, the importance of the market and the state apparatus in delimiting his

experience. While the traveler's body is posited as the site from which the text and images originate, this position is always unstable, tentative, and uncomfortable. At times, Andrade plays the modernist writer, parodying ethnography in fictionalized accounts of imaginary tribes; at other times, he is a joyful tourist and avid consumer, so intoxicated by sensory stimuli that he is incapable of gaining knowledge or writing. He feels uncomfortable with being part of the coffee queen's entourage but nevertheless revels in the comforts of the trip. This narrator is deeply aware of his distinction; his simultaneous privilege and out-of-placeness in the Amazonian voyage.

In his 1943 preface to the book, Andrade speculates as to why he has never been able to finish the manuscript, and attributes this to the excessive personalism of the notes. He then affirms that the reason he could never abandon the project was precisely this feeling of impropriety while traveling, "always hurting [*machucado*], alarmed, incomplete, always inventing himself as disliked by the environment that he traverses" (*O turista aprendiz*, 49). It is this open wound, the *machucado*—and the emotions that it still provokes in him—that keeps the text alive for Andrade.

This preface, and more generally his decision to retype the manuscript in 1942, can be better understood in the context of Andrade's revaluation of his life's work in his famous speech "O Movimento Modernista" (1942; "The Modernist Movement"). In this speech, after expressing a general disenchantment with the devastation of war in Europe and Asia, and with the dictatorial regime of President Getúlio Vargas (1937–45), which had terminated his position as secretary of culture for São Paulo, Andrade concludes with deep sadness that his generation had failed politically. In the speech, which was delivered on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Modern Art Week of 1922, he recounts the excess of joy of the 1920s generation of modernists who undertook the heroic, adventurous, and pretentious "salvation of Brazil and invention of the world" ("O movimento modernista," 241). Victims of their own pleasure in life, they consumed everything, including themselves, voraciously.[81] Andrade does not discredit the results of the work of the *modernista* generation: they made possible the "normalization of the right to aesthetic experimentation" in Brazil and the "stabilization of a national creative consciousness" (242), which meant not only the production of original art made in Brazil or about Brazil, but the creation of a Brazilian artistic culture. What the modernists, and especially Andrade himself, failed to do was to be *atual*, to actively engage with the

problems of the "present," which were primarily political. He explains this political failure in temporal terms, as an abstention from engaging in contemporary life—"and this was paramount" (252). He condemns the modernist movement as outdated, and afflicted with the "most antiquated absence of reality" (252). If Andrade recognizes that they did struggle, he believes they did so against ghosts.

Some scholars have interpreted Andrade's lecture as a fair mea culpa which accurately defines the limits of the modernist movement,[82] while others see it as a manifestation of his personal frustration, the bitterness of someone who now realizes the uselessness of his life's work.[83] Andrade himself corroborated in letters to friends that the speech was a bitter confession of his attitude toward life.[84] In addition to the grim national and international political scenarios, Andrade's violent dismissal from his position at the Department of Culture of São Paulo, which was based on accusations of mismanagement and led to his decision to move to Rio de Janeiro, seemed to confirm the irrelevance of his years of dedication to a governmental project aimed at the democratization of culture. With regard to his literary work, whose artistic value he now believed he had sacrificed, to use Pedro Fragelli's concept,[85] in the name of a social purpose, Andrade now reevaluates it as vain, incredibly individualistic, and aristocratic: "I thus arrive at the suffocating paradox: having deformed my entire work for the sake of a programmed and assertive anti-individualism, my entire work is nothing more than an implacable hyperindividualism!" ("O movimento modernista," 254). The paradox is that by "sacrificing" his individual creative work in the name of a social ideal, the less in touch with political reality he became. Through this lens, we can understand Andrade's disgust for the "personalism" of *O turista aprendiz*, but not his attachment to it.

If the 1942 speech can be interpreted as a bitter self-judgment, or, as some scholars have pointed out, one of many instances in which Andrade expresses the long-standing and ultimately unresolved conflict he experienced between the collective and the individual[86] or the social and the aesthetic characters of art,[87] it also touches on another set of oppositions that is crucial for understanding *O turista aprendiz*: the conflict between seeing and doing, passive and active, *atual* (contemporaneous) and outdated. The problem of action and that of temporality are intertwined: all Andrade had done—and "I did a lot," he admits ("O movimento modernista," 252)—were actions that did not engage with the problems of the present. What, then, does political action mean? At

the end of his speech, Andrade puts out a call for the younger generation to leave "abstentions and eternal values for later":

> May others not sit like this at the margins, watching the multitude go by . . . Make art, science, work. But do not stop there, as observers of life, disguised as life technicians, watching the multitudes go by. March with the multitude. ("O movimento modernista," 255)

The idea of marching with the multitude, joining the movement of the mass with his body, is placed in opposition to watching from the margins. In an earlier passage, however, Andrade admits that he does not see his own nature as that of a man of action, that he would not like to write incendiary pages or get into fights. He says that he does not want to "hide behind the contemplative doors of a monastery," but neither would he like to "earn the glory of being put in jail" ("O movimento modernista," 253). And between voluntary, speculative abstention and an active engagement that could lead to incarceration, Andrade slips the question of vision:

> There is always a way of slipping into an angle of vision, into a choice of value, into the blur of a teardrop that gives more volume to the unbearable of the world's conditions. No. We turned into abstemious and transcendental abstentionists. ("O movimento modernista," 253)

This question of vision brings into view the possibility that not all ways of looking are equally irrelevant, purposeless, or outdated. As I discussed in this chapter's introduction, tears, in *O turista aprendiz*, point us toward the thresholds between sight and body, vision and blindness, subject and object. Neither refusing to look (as Olivia Guedes Penteado does) nor achieving the passive malarial state of not looking, the apprentice tourist sustains the pain of being a spectator. While he does not join the multitude—and Andrade doubts he could have done this—in *O turista aprendiz*, he also does not hide behind speculative ideas about the past and the future. His phenomenology of looking recognizes his embodied complicity as an observer in the destructive process of modernization. *O turista aprendiz* is neither fiction nor ethnography, by a writer who is neither a member of a joyful modernist caravan "invent-

ing the world" nor a public servant constructing a cultural political project—and the book opens up this unresolved pain of looking.

Finally, *O turista aprendiz*, a work in which photography and writing are inseparable, and the only photographic experiment of the first generation of Brazilian modernism,[88] might have appeared to Andrade in 1942 to be both painful and relevant exactly because it presents an embodied, transient, and non-instrumental pedagogy of looking. Seeing through the blur of a teardrop is not only a refusal of the ethnographic gaze, it is also a refusal to appease the unbearable of the world's conditions through either aristocratic speculation and "eternal values" or instrumental, state-led political project.

EPILOGUE

Fire

As I write this conclusion in September 2019, images of the Amazon rainforest on fire pop up on my phone. Most of them are aerial views of the devastation. The frame is divided in two by a line of fire that looks to be advancing over the green side of the screen. The second most common type of image is taken at ground level and shows trees being consumed by fire from bottom to top; they will soon cease to exist. Lastly, I see photographs of the city of São Paulo being covered by a dark cloud—a reminder that the world is connected, that the remains of destruction arrive from the sky at the largest South American metropolis. There are no humans in these photographs. Combined with repeated mottos, such as those defining the Amazon as "the earth's lungs," these images tell me and those around me—so far removed not only from the Amazon but also from Brazil's urban centers—that this asphyxiating apocalypse is coming from the South.

There is very little, in the North American media, connecting these images of fire to the recent political events (and geopolitical interests) that have led to a right-wing turn in Brazil and Latin America, marked by the emergence of political figures who reproduce, in almost identical language, the early twentieth-century calls for modernization, development, extractivism, and the assimilation of Indigenous communities into national territories. These decontextualized images of fire consuming the Amazon seem straightforward enough. They are at once familiar and scandalous in that they document an acceleration of what seems

like an inevitable environmental catastrophe that shapes our imagination of the future. The inevitability of the end of the world is an image taken from above and from a distance. It is fire and dark clouds coming from the South. From this perspective, it is impossible to appreciate the contingencies and entanglements of local and global destructive forces and horrors, but also of utopian critique and activism. It is hard to see what lives despite extractive capitalism or in its ruins.

The contemporary images of the Amazon on fire haunt me while I revisit the question that informs this book: What do people do with traces of ruination happening far from their immediate surroundings, and how do photographic images shape our political imagination? The context I examined in this book seems far removed from us: it refers to a time when precarity seemed mostly the fate of the less fortunate and the most fortunate were addressed as spectators of traces of destruction, in order to learn lessons from these traces and to develop cultural and political responses. While the experience of looking at images of the destructive processes of modernization in the extractive peripheries of capitalism has intensified, their mode of interpellating us has changed: now we are often addressed by these images as fellow victims of an inevitable catastrophic future. This is, of course, just one dimension of the shifts in our experience of viewing images of destruction, which was also marked by the development in the late twentieth century of a more standardized and organized humanitarian language and logic,[1] and the advent of visual inclusion and Indigenous media initiatives that substantially increased the production and distribution of media content by historically marginalized groups.[2] In addition, new modes of circulation and montage of images and texts in social media and messaging apps reveal the coexistence of a myriad of other practices of seeing in the context of ongoing processes of ruination. Catastrophic narratives of the end of the world dispute the hegemonic discourse with the multiplicity of images made and circulated by people who live in or with capitalist ruins. Research that takes into account the contemporary entanglements of these different practices of seeing, I believe, remains to be done.

One could argue that this multiplicity is a peculiarity of our contemporary multimedia image environment. In this book I argue, on the contrary, that the practices of seeing the destruction caused by extractive capitalism and modernization have never been homogeneous. Rather, if we pay close attention to heterogeneous strategies developed to circulate, exhibit, and arrange photographic traces of violence with other images and texts, this can illuminate different facets of some of the pillars

of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century modernity: the formation of a public realm, the consolidation and territorialization of market channels and state governance, and disputed concepts of history. If we can, for example, situate Euclides da Cunha and Roger Casement in the same historical context—both men worked in the first two decades of the twentieth century, when trust in progress and in photography as both a symbol of and a tool for such progress prevailed—a close examination of their work allows for a more nuanced understanding of how progress was envisioned through different modes of visualizing the traces of modernity's failure. Da Cunha's ekphrastic narration of the corpses of Canudos as a (mis)step in the constitution of a modern Brazil presupposed the engulfment of the other in the history of the birth of a national subject. While for Da Cunha the trace had to be assimilated in a forward-moving narrative of progress, Casement struggled to make scars visible as traces of a long-term geopolitics of imperialism. Casement's emphasis on the historicity of different points of view, which affected the subject's ability to see the unequal distribution of scars on the world stage (and thus, how Ireland was connected to the Putumayo), led him to foresee the possibility of progress through the education of public opinion in the imperial metropoles in ways that would open it to a humanist perspective, based on universal ideals of rights and justice. Thus, what is at stake is not that Casement or Da Cunha's respective contexts deny modern capitalism's universalizing tendencies, but, as Anna Tsing has suggested, that universals are engaged differentially in each case, generating heterogeneous "arrangements of culture and power."[3]

Similarly, Lévi-Strauss and Andrade both partook in a modernist critique of photographic realism and power, shared a desire to break with linear narratives of progress, and valued Indigenous or popular cultures. However, their efforts to make visible the traces of destruction caused by early twentieth-century modernizing enterprises in the non-urban areas of the continent are diametrically opposed. Lévi-Strauss aims to make Indigenous people visible as the debris of lost cultures through a restricted use of photography, which, combined with captions and montages, should call attention to symbolic information at the expense of portraying historically specific embodied encounters. In contrast, Andrade uses captions to destabilize the temporal coordinates of the referent of the image, revealing the multiple traces of bodily encounters that constitute the very act of seeing. While Lévi-Strauss recognizes capitalist modernity's force of destruction, this recognition does not lead him to expose the realpolitik of the 1930s' anthropological enterprises. Call-

ing himself an archeologist, he focuses on the readability of the debris instead of engaging with the present political and embodied processes of fabrication of that debris. In contrast, Andrade's politics of the gaze, which focuses on the entanglement of his own body with the past and ongoing traces of violence, reveals differential and very empirical interactions, misunderstandings, and even alliances between politicians, artists, workers, and Indigenous people.

Despite all these differences, these four men were imbued (or imbued themselves) with the mission and power to make visible the traces of destruction in regions that were foreign to them. It is not surprising that the characters in this story were all city-dwelling white men, even if they were not quite white or not quite heteronormative. Da Cunha, for example, is well known for having formulated a progressive view of the nation from a not-quite-white position. Despite believing in racial categories and the inevitability of biological evolution, he found a *mestiço* solution to progress in the tropics which partially contradicted the European racial theorists he so admired. It could be argued that the Jewish anthropologist Lévi-Strauss's pessimistic critique of modernity was also made from the point of view of a people who were victims of modern states and racial discourses. If, for da Cunha, history, as the fulfillment of the modern subject, meant progress, for Lévi-Strauss it meant catastrophe. Lévi-Strauss's pessimism, however, is counterbalanced by his Rousseauan search for the origin as the potential beginning of every social organization. If we can imagine the origin, says the reader of Rousseau, we can also imagine different futures. What is left out of the frame in Lévi-Strauss's *Tristes tropiques* is the political present, its messy alliances and negotiations, and the wordly frictions of heterogeneous temporalities, images, and bodies.

Interestingly, it is in Casement and Andrade, an Irishman and a Brazilian man whose queerness was not the focus of this book, but has been vastly documented and studied,[4] that we find the question of positionality: Roger Casement insists on the historicity of the gaze, and Mário de Andrade proposes an embodied spectatorship. Despite their differences, it is fair to say that their photographs and diaries present a politics of looking that emphasizes their bodily orientation towards the subjects they encounter and how they are affected by them. Their queer sensibility and embodied positionality also affect their way of taking into account the entanglement of their bodies in the exploitation of human and nonhuman lives. Casement wondered what would be exhausted first,

the rubber trees or Indigenous people, and Andrade was attentive to the entangled human and nonhuman lives in the transformed landscapes of the Amazon. Both men emphasized that in the midst of destruction, there is also creative work, desire, and emotion.

Both Casement and Andrade held long-term positions in state apparatuses—Casement as British consul and Andrade as director of the Department of Culture of São Paulo. Although these positions were quite different in scope and aim, both men imbued them with a cultural and pedagogical mission that was directed in part at the cultural and political elite, who should learn to appreciate non-European cultures and democratic values. And both men ended up turning against the state for which they worked. Later committing to a radical fight against British imperialism, Casement joined the Irish nationalist uprising, for which he was sentenced to death. Andrade, on the contrary, never turned to direct action against the state, but condemned himself for never having truly acted in a political sense. But despite Andrade's disillusionment, for him, the future never appeared as a given. In his famous 1942 speech, the modernist poet exhorts new generations to engage with the present, to take their bodies to the streets and march with the masses.

In contrast to the mostly human-centered imaginaries of these early twentieth-century critics of modernization, the aerial images of the Amazon rainforest, characterized as the "earth's lungs," on fire leave very little room for utopian critique. Just as some scholars in the humanities, social sciences, and environmental studies rightly question an anthropocentric history and propose new ways of rethinking human and nonhuman interactions and temporal scales, I am drawn to those who are doing very important work on multispecies and multicultural lives in ruinous spaces and precarious environments.[5] There is, however, still considerable and urgent work to be done in the field of visual culture in examining more closely what has changed in our mainstream practices of looking, what these changes can tell us about our own ability to imagine futures and pasts, and how to engage politically with the present. Images of the end of the world can make us lose sight of concrete engagements and cut off the forces of change.

Another spectacular fire, which also took place in Brazil, mobilized national, regional, and international communities exactly one year from the time of writing this epilogue. In September 2018, a fire consumed the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro. Devastated researchers and the

Figure 5.1. "The Bendegó meteorite at the National Museum after an overnight fire in Rio de Janeiro," September 3, 2018. Photograph by Léo Corrêa. Copyright © AP Photo/Léo Corrêa.

museum's curator remarked that the fire was the result of years of austerity and drastic reductions in the budget dedicated to the museum's maintenance. Founded in 1818 by the Portuguese emperor Dom João VI and housed in a historic building in the Boa Vista neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro since 1892, the museum was the oldest scientific institution in Brazil and held one of the largest anthropological and natural history collections in the world. Among the museum's world-renowned collections was Luzia, a 12,000-year-old human fossil found in Brazil, and audio recordings of Indigenous languages from all over the country. As the *National Geographic* reported, "some of these recordings, now lost, were of languages that are no longer spoken."[6] In these global manifestations of mourning for a double loss—of the Indigenous languages and of their recordings—we are reminded that museums, which are nineteenth-century institutions par excellence, reflected modernity's fascination with the past while moving forward into the future. Resulting from the same political landscape that triggered this year's increase in fires in the Amazon forest, the museum's fire is not an image of the destruction of life, but of the memory of lost worlds.

One of the few objects in the burnt-out building that survived the fire was the Bendegó meteorite. Weighing 5.36 tons, the meteorite is around

four billion years old. A photographic image of the meteorite among the ruins of the Museu Nacional is a reminder that ruins not only pertain to anthropological history, but to the deep time of cosmological order (figure 5.1). I am being led again to visions of the end of world, but something brings me back to this book's main question: What becomes of the traces of early twentieth-century destructive modernizing projects? The Bendegó meteorite was found in 1784 in the Bahian *sertão*, close to Monte Santo, the town that would later serve as the military base of operations during the Canudos Campaign. In 1888, one year before the fall of the Brazilian Empire, an imperial commission led by a retired veteran of the Paraguayan War, Bernardo Carvalho da Cunha, was established to transport the meteorite to a newly extended railway and from there to Salvador, from where it would be taken to its new home at the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro. The heroic feat of transporting the meteorite was widely reported in the news. In chapter 1, I discussed how in his January 31, 1897, article for *A Semana*, Machado de Assis associated the transportation of the Bendegó meteorite with the photographic enterprise in Canudos. He suggested that photographing and collecting the traits of Antonio Conselheiro would be a feat similar to the removal of the Bendegó from the *sertão*. Associating the military and scientific enterprises of the nineteenth century with the territorial expansion of the state and its discourses of progress, Machado seems to have predicted that Conselheiro's traces would later be exhibited, like the Bendegó, as a relic in something like a science museum. Curiously, the building where Conselheiro's skull was preserved, the Medical School of Bahia, was consumed by fire in 1905. These coincidences reveals two levels of violence: the violence that turns others into museum pieces, and the violence that erases the traces of their existence; the obliteration of human beings, and that of the memory of the obliteration.

This circles back to the main question: What do we make of traces of destruction? What is the value of the photographs of Canudos's ruins and corpses, for example, and does it matter that they still exist? After decades of photographic criticism similar to that of Lévi-Strauss, who recognized the predatory aspect of ethnographic and travel photography, recent works on visual culture have proposed new ways of reading nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photography that emphasize the unruliness of photographic meaning which allows it to be revitalized differently in varied political contexts.[7] For example, photographs taken by the state in order to control subaltern subjects—enslaved people, laborers, criminals, women, Indigenous peoples—are

being reappropriated by descendants of these subjects, who locate their histories in these photographs. Similarly, the history of the traces of Canudos does not end with the engulfment of Conselheiro's portrait in the book *Os sertões*. On the contrary, the repeated efforts to efface the ruins of Canudos are evidence of their very force.

Soon after the end of the conflict, a village began to flourish among the ruins of Canudos's old and the new churches, occupied by survivors of the massacre who insisted on staying there. As I have mentioned, accounts of the war have, following the narrative of *Os sertões*, disregarded the existence of these survivors for a long time. This effacement was later duplicated: the new village was flooded, in 1968, by the construction of a dam. Its inhabitants moved to different localities, including a new village, which was later called "Canudos." A small part of the flooded Canudos, which remained out of the reach of the dam, is known today as "Old Canudos" and can be visited by those interested in the history of the region. The ruins of the old and the new churches, which become visible only in times of drought, have been re-photographed many times. Along with Flávio de Barros's photographs, they have been revitalized in the context of different utopian critiques and activist art.

The burning of public archives and the recent rise of ultraconservative and revisionist discourses targeting what we once felt were established narratives of violence—such as the killings and torture perpetrated by military dictatorships or the genocide of Indigenous people—are another reason for us to engage with the traces of history. Activists, artists, journalists, and scholars everywhere are generating new arrangements of images and texts that invite us to imagine the multilayered temporality of the now.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. I follow here Gastón R. Gordillo's concept of "rubble," which, contrary to the reification of ruins in some modernist traditions, implies formless debris with no transcendental significance. Gastón R. Gordillo, *Rubble; The Afterlife of Destruction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

2. Mário de Andrade, *O turista aprendiz*, ed. Telê Ancona Lopez and Tatiana Longo Figueiredo (Brasilia: IPHAN, 2015), 157.

3. The discussions around the mutually constitutive processes of the formation of nation-states in Latin America and the rise of global capitalism extend across a range of disciplines. See, for example, Steven C. Topik and Allen Wells, *Global Markets Transformed, 1870–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), for an interdisciplinary approach to this topic.

4. I use the term "modernization" to refer to the historically specific processes and projects aimed at expanding capitalist modernity, conquering, as Graciela Montaldo put it, "all that is not modern" ("Modernity and Modernization: The Geopolitical Relocation of Latin America," in *Critical Terms in Caribbean and Latin American Thought: New Directions in Latino American Cultures*, ed. Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel, Ben Sifuentes-Jáuregui, and Marisa Belausteguigoitia [New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016], 154).

5. Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis, "A Semana," *Gazeta de Notícias*, February 14, 1897.

6. I follow here Denise Ferreira da Silva's reading of the notion of *homo modernus* as the nineteenth-century embodiment of a global/historical consciousness that posits a post-Enlightenment version of the subject as the sole self-determined thing. Silva reminds us that *homo modernus* is not abstract, but is a white man, and that the elimination of its "others" is necessary for the re-

alization of the subject's exclusive ethical attribute; namely, self-determination. Denise Ferreira da Silva, *Toward a Global Idea of Race* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 171–251.

7. Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis, "A Semana," *Gazeta de Notícias*, January 31, 1897.

8. Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 74.

9. Jens Andermann, *The Optic of the State: Visuality and Power in Argentina and Brazil* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 1.

10. Luciana Martins, *Photography and Documentary Film in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

11. Natalia Brizuela, *Fotografia e império* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2012).

12. Kevin Coleman, *A Camera in the Garden of Eden: The Self-Forging of a Banana Republic* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016).

13. Esther Gabara, *Errant Modernism: The Ethos of Photography in Mexico and Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 37.

14. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*. trans. John Weightman and Doreen Weightman (New York: Penguin, 2012).

15. I refer here to the anthropologist Christopher Pinney's "Parallel Histories of Photography and Anthropology," in *Anthropology and Photography, 1860–1920*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1992).

16. Eduardo Cadava, *Words of Light: Theses on the Photography of History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); Mauricio Lissovsky, *Pausas do destino: Teoria, arte e história da fotografia* (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad Editora, 2014); Ulrich Baer, *Spectral Evidence: The Photography of Trauma* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002).

17. Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 263.

18. Ann Laura Stoler, *Imperial Debris* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013); Gordillo, *Rubble*.

19. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 14.

20. Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

21. Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).

22. Roland Barthes, "The Third Meaning: Research Notes on Several Eisenstein Stills," in *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 58.

23. Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981).

24. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 84.

25. Rielle Navitski, *Public Spectacles of Violence: Sensational Cinema and Journalism in Early Twentieth-Century Mexico and Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).

26. Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 18.

27. Joseph Anthony Amato and David Monge, *Victims and Values: A History and a Theory of Suffering* (New York: Greenwood, 1990); Ian Wilkinson, *Suffering: A Sociological Introduction* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005).

28. Luc Boltanski, *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media, and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

29. Thomas L. Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 1," *American Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (1985): 339–61; Thomas L. Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 2," *American Historical Review* 90, no. 3 (1985): 547–66.

30. Michael N. Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011); Robert M. Burroughs, *Travel Writing and Atrocities: Eyewitness Accounts of Colonialism in the Congo, Angola, and the Putumayo* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins, Part 1," and "Capitalism and the Origins, Part 2."

31. Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno, eds., *Humanitarian Photography: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Jane Lydon, *Photography, Humanitarianism, Empire* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017).

32. Heather Curtis, "Picturing Pain: Evangelicals and the Politics of Pictorial Humanitarianism in an Imperial Age," in *Humanitarian Photography: A History*, ed. Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Kevin Grant, "The Limits of Exposure: Atrocity Photographs in the Congo Reform Campaign," in *Humanitarian Photography: A History*, ed. Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Sharon Sliwinski, *Human Rights in Camera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

33. Thomas Laqueur, "Mourning, Pity, and the Work of Narrative in the Making of Humanity," in *Humanitarianism and Suffering: The Mobilization of Empathy*, ed. Richard Ashby Wilson and Richard D. Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 40.

34. Curtis, "Picturing Pain"; Grant, "The Limits of Exposure"; Christina L. Twomey, "Framing Atrocity: Photography and Humanitarianism," in *Humanitarian Photography: A History*, ed. Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

35. Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989),

36. James Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

37. An important and pioneering contribution to the study of humanitarian photography in diverse political and geographic contexts, Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno's edited volume *Humanitarian Photography: A History* includes two valuable studies of early twentieth-century photographs of atroc-

ity in non-Western contexts: Peter Balakian's article on amateur photographs of the Armenian genocide and Caroline Reeves's article on the development of a humanitarian language of photography in China, which shift the focus away from photographs made by a professionalized or international point of view. See Balakian, "Photography, Visual Culture, and the Armenian Genocide," and Reeves, "Developing the Humanitarian Image in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century China," in *Humanitarian Photography: A History*, ed. Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

38. Janaína Amado, "Região, sertão e nação," *Revista Estudos Históricos* 8, no. 15 (July 1995); Victoria Saramago, "Transatlantic Sertões: The Backlands of Ruy Duarte de Carvalho and Mia Couto," *Ecozon@: European Journal of Literature, Culture and Environment* 8, no. 1 (April 2017).

39. I thank one of my anonymous reviewers for inviting me to discuss this "leaky," in their words, dimension of the book's geography.

40. The expression appears in Casement's notes about a talk he had with a trader of Iquitos on August 24, 1910, National Library of Ireland, MS 13,087 (26/i).

CHAPTER 1

1. The "Campanha de Canudos" (Canudos Campaign) was the name given to the fourth and final expedition of the newly founded Brazilian Republic's military against the rural community of Belo Monte in the north of Bahia.

2. Euclides da Cunha, *Backlands: The Canudos Campaign*, trans. Elizabeth Lowe and Ilan Stavans (New York: Penguin Books, 2010), 464. I will refer throughout to this book as *Os sertões*, but will quote from the English translation unless otherwise noted. Subsequent citations will be made parenthetically in the text.

3. In her insightful approach to the photographs of Canudos, Natalia Brizuela highlights the dialectics of visibility and invisibility of Canudos as part of the Brazilian Republic's spectacle of modernity and its spectral, photographic character. In one of the only scholarly works to offer an interpretation of Euclides da Cunha's reference to the photograph of Conselheiro's body, Brizuela sees this passage in *Os sertões* as a recognition of the insufficiency of words, and as a deference to the image, the trace, as the sole testimony of the tragedy. In reading this ekphrastic passage in relation to other photograph/text assemblages in the book, I argue that da Cunha temporalizes Conselheiro's image, trying to control the meaning of this trace, including it in a narrative that argues that violence through killing should be replaced by assimilation and modernization. Natalia Brizuela, "'Curiosity! Wonder!! Horror!!! Misery!!!!' The *Campanha de Canudos*, or the Photography of History," *Qui Parle* 15, no. 2 (2005): 139–69.

4. An important reference in my approach to *Os sertões* as a text that addresses the question of the formation of Brazilian nation in a global/historical context is Denise Ferreira da Silva's *Toward a Global Idea of Race*. Ferreira da Silva examines the role of the concept of the racial in the nineteenth century's double discursive fields of science and history, and in the production of the

idea of *homo modernus* as the universal self-determining subject. Ferreira da Silva's emphasis on how the racially instituted subjects that stood differentially before universality, manufacturing both man and his (non-European) others, is a productive way of understanding how the racial produces the spatial configuration of the global. Even in the context of the nineteenth-century construction of modern non-European nations, she argues that racial subjection cannot be separated from global subjection. I am deeply indebted to this author's analysis of the role played by the concept of *mestiçagem* in producing a national subject in Brazil premised on an obliteration (or engulfing) of otherness that allows for the fashioning of a trajectory for the European subject in the tropics.

5. Based on testimonies, the historian José Calasans argues that Conselheiro did not settle in the abandoned Canudos farm, on the right bank of Vaza-Barris River, as was widely believed. Calasans argues that he settled in a relatively privileged settlement on the left bank of the river, also known as Canudos. See Calasans, *Cartografia de Canudos* (Salvador: Secretaria de Turismo, Conselho Estadual de Cultura, EGBA, 1997), 188.

6. For an account of the diverse groups that migrated to Belo Monte in its first years, see José Calasans's "Canudos: Origem e desenvolvimento," *Revista da Academia de Letras da Bahia* 34 (January 1987): 73.

7. A republican government was established in Brazil after a little-resisted military coup against the emperor Dom Pedro II on November 15, 1889—nearly seven decades after most of Brazil's Latin American neighbors had become republics. As historians have shown, the period that followed was marked by political instability and a series of struggles between different forces: politicians who represented a new bourgeois class, the military, old landowners, and aristocrats. A good historical overview of the social and political context of the so-called Velha República (Old Republic) is *Brazil: Empire and Republic, 1822–1930*, edited by Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). For a historical contextualization of Canudos, see Robert Levine's *Vale of Tears: Revisiting the Canudos Massacre in Northeastern Brazil, 1893–1897* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

8. While Robert Levine, Leslie Bethell, and other historians recognize the importance of examining national and local political forces to understand the violent actions of the Brazilian Republic, other historians remind us of the relevance of the global context. By the end of the nineteenth century, similar resistance communities in countries including the United States, Argentina, and Mexico had also clashed with modern states in expansion. Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocaust: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (London: Verso, 2012), for example, argues that violent repression was a common tactic in the processes of incorporation of peripheries into nation-states and global chains of supply. Additionally, even at the local level, as Ralph della Cava and Adriana Campos Johnson have pointed out, Canudos was not the exceptional event that Brazilian twentieth-century historiography seems to suggest, but rather one of many rebellions stemming from modernization and the foundation of the republic. See Ralph della Cava, "Brazilian Messianism and National Institutions: A Reappraisal of Canudos and Joaseiro," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 48, no. 3 (1968); and Adriana Campos Johnson,

Sentencing Canudos: Subalternity in the Backlands of Brazil (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010).

9. For an overview of press coverage of the Canudos Campaign, see Walnice Nogueira Galvão's *No calor da hora: A Guerra de Canudos nos jornais, 4. expedição* (São Paulo: Atica, 1974).

10. Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, "The Madness Epidemic of Canudos: Antonio Conselheiro and the Jagunços (1897)," *International Review of Psychiatry* 29, no. 3 (2017): 208–15.

11. All in-text citations that have not been previously published in English are translated by the author.

12. Souza, Marcelo Medeiros Coelho de. "O analfabetismo no brasil sob enfoque demográfico." Cadernos de Pesquisa, no. 107 (July 1999): 169–86. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0100-15741999000200007.

13. Canudos crossed borders mainly thanks to Euclides da Cunha's *Os sertões*, becoming an important reference in Latin American culture and internationally, through the works of philosophers and political theorists such as Ernesto Laclau, Slavoj Zizek, and Antonio Negri. In Spanish, it was popularized in Mario Vargas Llosa's novel *La guerra del fin del mundo* (*The War of the End of the World*), which is in great part based on his reading of da Cunha's *Os sertões*.

14. This was part of a series of three articles for the Rio de Janeiro newspaper *O Paíz*, later published in the book *Contrastes e confrontos*, in which da Cunha argued that only engineering could succeed in a crusade against the harshness of the Brazilian environment. He accuses Brazil of alternating between two extreme (and equally harmful) attitudes toward the environment: the first, leaving it to wither due to passive indifference, a victim of droughts and infertile soils; and the second, ferociously exploiting its fertile regions and, as a result, creating future deserts. In other regions, da Cunha writes, the tenacious work of scientists and engineers has shown that it is possible to modify the earth and transfigure the climate. In contrast to Brazil's alternating between neglect and thoughtless exploitation, da Cunha praises the imperialist nations that had transformed the regions they had occupied: "Indisputably, such purpose is enough to ennoble modern invasions." Euclides da Cunha, *Contrastes e confrontos*, in *Obras completas*, ed. Afrânio Coutinho, vol. 1 (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Aguilar, 1995), 43.

15. It has often been argued that *Os sertões* is simultaneously the work of a poet and a scientist, a work at once symbolist and positivist. As Lilia Schwarcz notes, the end of the nineteenth century in Brazil was marked by a "veiled dispute between 'men of science' and 'men of letters'" (*The Spectacle of the Races: Scientists, Institutions, and the Race Question in Brazil, 1870–1930* [New York: Hill and Wang, 1999], 37). Ever since José Veríssimo's critical piece "Campanha de Canudos," published in the newspaper *Correio da Manhã* on December 3, 1902, the book's hybrid character and the relationships in it between its scientific and literary dimensions have been the focus of ongoing debate. Da Cunha's contemporary Araripe Júnior, as well as Antônio Cândido later on, and more recently Leopoldo Bernucci are among the authors who have read *Os sertões* as a work at the border between science and literature and have tried to provide an account of how these facets shape one another. Araripe Júnior, "Os sertões:

Campanha de Canudos," *Jornal do Commercio*, March 6 and 18, 1903; Antônio Cândido, *Literatura e sociedade* (Rio de Janeiro: Ouro sobre Azul, 2006); and Leopoldo Bernucci, *A imitação dos sentidos: Prógonos, contemporâneos e epígonos de Euclides da Cunha* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 1995). The book's dual character is often described as a tension between a scientist who examines the land and the people of the *sertão* and a poet who creates, imagines, and, without being able to visualize and fix what he encounters, describes the *sertão* through extremely metaphorical language and symbolic correspondences. Francisco Foot-Hardman, Walnice Nogueira Galvão, and others have suggested that *Os sertões* should be read instead in relation to its literary references. See Francisco Foot-Hardman, "Brutalidade antiga: Sobre história e ruína em Euclides," *Estudos Avançados* 10, no. 26 (January–April, 1996): 293–310; and Walnice Nogueira Galvão, *Euclidiana: Ensaios sobre Euclides da Cunha* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2009). In his *Terra ignota: A construção de "Os sertões"* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1997), Luiz Costa Lima analyzes *Os sertões* as a text split into not two but three modes of expression: first, the scene or center ruled by da Cunha's scientific models and characterized by a mode of "description"; second, the text's ornamental and literary dimensions; and finally, the text's "subscene," which is dominated by mimesis. This third mode of expression is formed by what is not totally controlled by the author: "The subscene is less a scene of a phantasmal order than a condensation in which the ghostly acquires form" (*Terra ignota*, 172). This third dimension, Costa Lima stresses, characterized by impasses, silences, and aporias, threatens the science that rules the text. In this book, I do not aim to take part in this debate opposing the literary and the scientific, the text and its outside, but to recast *Os sertões* in terms of its engagement with the archival material on Canudos, in particular Flávio de Barros's photographs. It is this archival material itself that is at the same time in and out of the narrative, woven into it but also on the verge of freeing itself from it. Finally, I argue that this effort to control the archives of Canudos is part of what Adriana Campos Johnson called the "prescriptive" dimension of the text (*Sentencing Canudos*, 7)

16. Col Dantas Barreto, who in 1898 published one of the first accounts of the conflict, re-creates the process of bringing the buried corpse to the surface with suspense, noting that the grave was deep, and emphasizing the soldiers' curiosity as they "were digging, digging, digging with caution when finally they came across a man's feet" and, how they continued to dig, with even more eagerness, until the entire body came to light. Émidio Dantas Barreto, *A última expedição à Canudos* (Porto Alegre: Editores Franco e Irmão, 1898), 235.

17. Euclides da Cunha quotes this from the report by the first column's commander. Da Cunha, *Backlands: The Canudos Campaign*, 476.

18. Machado de Assis is still considered one of the most important writers in Brazilian literature. By the time his article about Canudos appeared he had already published more than ten books, among them novels, plays, poetry, and collections of short stories. In the *Gazeta de Noticias*, Machado published the series "A Semana" ("The Week"), his longest and best-known contribution to the press. "A Semana" consists of 247 texts published weekly from April 1892 to February 1897 and is the only series of such essays that Machado did not

sign using a pseudonym. Arguing that there should be more serious criticism of Machado's long-overlooked newspaper texts, critics such as John Gledson and Massaud Moisés have noted that Machado not only dedicated years of his life to writing them, but thought it worthwhile to republish six essays written during this period in the collection *Página recolhidas* (1899). Among them is "Canção de piratas," Machado's first text mentioning Canudos.

19. Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis, "A Semana," *Gazeta de Notícias* (Rio de Janeiro), 1892–97.

20. See Tom Gunning, "In Your Face: Physiognomy, Photography, and the Gnostic Mission of Early Film," *Modernism/Modernity* 4, no. 1 (1997): 1–29, 25.

21. For a detailed study of Nina Rodrigues's work, see Lilia Schwarcz, *The Spectacle of Races: Scientists, Institutions, and the Race Question in Brazil, 1870–1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999).

22. For an overview of press coverage of the Canudos Campaign, see Galvão's *No calor da hora*.

23. Olavo Bilac, "Chronica," *Revista Kosmos* 3, no. 10 (Rio de Janeiro), October 1906.

24. As Robert Levine's *Vale of Tears* has shown, the attack on Canudos was ultimately the consequence of a larger, conflicted process of state intervention in the rural interior, which clashed with the established power of local landlords even as it reinforced traditional patterns of coerced labor and herd voting.

25. See Javier Uriarte's "Through an Enemy Land: On Space and (In)Visibility in Euclides da Cunha's Os sertões," in *Revisiting 20th Century Wars: New Readings of Modern Armed Conflicts in Literature and Image Media*, ed. Tom Burns, Élcio Cornelsen, Volker Jeckel, and Luiz Gustavo Vieira (Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2012), for a discussion of nomadism and immobility, and the struggle of the people of Belo Monte to freely occupy the space.

26. The community was described as outlaw and anti-capitalistic. An account of a pastoral mission sent to Canudos in May 1895 to bring Conselheiro and his people under church control—the only extensive written eyewitness account of the settlement before the military expeditions—suggested that private property did not exist in Canudos. The mission stayed there for one week and, having failed to acquire any authority within the community, was then suspended. Frei João Evangelista de Monte Marciano, *Relatório apresentado pelo Revd. Frei João Evangelista de Monte Marciano ao Arcebispado da Bahia sobre Antônio Conselheiro e seu séquito no arraial dos Canudos* (Bahía: Typographia do "Correio de Notícias," 1895; facsimile edition, with an introduction by José Calasans, Salvador: Universidade Federal da Bahia, 1987). In another example, a local landowner accused Canudos of being a threat to private property, and ended a letter by exclaiming that Conselheiro's doctrine was communism. This would later fuel a series of positive historiographic representations of Canudos, starting in the 1950s, which framed the emergence of the settlement as a revolutionary attempt to found a communist utopia. The first of Machado de Assis's *crônicas* on Canudos, however, already offers a positive depiction of the community as a negation of capitalist bourgeois society. In the *crônica* entitled "Canção de piratas" ("Pirate's Song"), published in 1894, one year after

the foundation of the community and before the "War of Canudos," Machado compares the *canudenses* to the pirates described by the poets of 1830, who criticized a life regimented by calendars, watches, and taxes, and who "shook their sandals at the gates of civilization, and left in search of a free life."

27. Roberto Ventura, "'A nossa Vendéia': O mito da Revolução Francesa e a formação de identidade nacional-cultural no Brasil (1897–1902)," *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana* 12, no. 24 (1986): 114.

28. This is important, as it raises questions as to what kind of knowledge of *conselheirismo* was being produced, what voices had to be silenced in this production, and who was given the right to speak. As Calasans's works on Canudos have shown, some voices, ignored by the "lettered city" (Rama), have survived and circulated—especially in rural areas—through oral history and popular poems. See Jose Calasans, *Canudos na literatura de cordel* (São Paulo: Atica, 1984). From the capital of the republic, Machado de Assis declared that the public could only imagine what wonderful promises the preacher was making. Based on oral and written accounts by people who lived in Canudos and the surrounding areas, revisionist historiography after the 1960s has challenged this construction of Canudos as an "extraordinary event" and has emphasized the everyday life in the community. For a debate about this shift, see Dain Borges, "Salvador's 1890s: Paternalism and Its Discontents," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 30, no. 2 (1993), as well as Campos Johnson, *Sentencing Canudos*.

29. In *Ressemblance par contact* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 2008), Georges Didi-Huberman explores the technique of print (*empreinte*) in its varied forms and reappearances throughout history—from prehistoric hand-prints on cave walls to holy shrouds to Marcel Duchamp's "Female Fig Leaf."

30. The relationship between photography and death is one of the most enduring themes in the history of photographic criticism. It has also been a preoccupation for those interested in photographic ontologies that focus on the relationship between photography and time (Walter Benjamin, Roland Barthes, Siegfried Kracauer, Eduardo Cadava, Ulrich Baer). In brief, these ontologies explore the ways in which photography is a trace from the past, the presence of an absence, and, ultimately, a figure for history itself. The relationship between photography and death has also been a crucial element in histories of photography interested in the medium's connection to power relations in the context of institutional practices and spaces (Alan Sekula, Thomas Keenan and Eyal Weizman). These works highlight how photographs function analogously to corpses in the objectification of bodies for medical, anthropometric, criminological, or forensic analyses.

31. This book would be written, according to Machado, by a writer named Coelho Neto, who was then publishing a collection of short stories called *Sertão*. Machado de Assis's *crônica* comments on three contemporary "events": Canudos; Coelho Neto's recently released book; and the centenary of the top hat. The book that would "sentence Canudos to history," in the words of Adriana Campos Johnson, ended up being Euclides da Cunha's *Os sertões* (1902). There were, surely, other forms of transmission of the stories of Canudos not mentioned by Machado de Assis. Canudos was present in flyers or *cordel* literature (see Calasans's *Canudos no literatura de cordel*)—popular and inexpen-

sively printed booklets of stories-in-verse produced and sold at fairs and by street vendors.

32. For studies of the last decades of the nineteenth century in Brazil in relation to the growth of a new bourgeoisie, financial capital, enthusiasm about new technologies, and the consumption of international products, see Lilia Moritz Schwarcz and Angela Marques da Costa, *1890–1914: No tempo das certezas* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000); Jeffrey D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and Nicolau Sevcenko, *Literatura como missão: Tensões sociais e criação cultural na Primeira República* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983).

33. For more examples, see Galvão's *No calor da hora*.

34. As I argue in my article "Spectacle and Rebellion in Fin de Siècle Brazil: The Commodified Rebel in Machado de Assis's Chronicles," Machado's use of the top hat and the *cabeleira* highlights the contradictions of a liberal bourgeoisie culture in the context of a society shaped by an only-recently abolished system of slavery (*Journal of Lusophone Studies* 3, no. 2 [Fall 2018], https://doi.org/10.21471/jls.v3i2.174). As Jeffrey D. Needell has mentioned, aristocratic values, anxiety about social status, and an expanding urban market combined to explain the centrality of fashion in bourgeois culture in fin-de-siècle Brazil (Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoque*, 156–71). The top hat, a sign of both bourgeois consumerism and of Europeanized aristocratic distinction, seems to have embodied an apparently contradictory aristocratic urge to distinction through fashion: knowing how to choose a hat was, as Machado discusses in other texts, a question of distinguishing oneself not only from the poor, but also from a tropical *petite bourgeoisie* that lacked "good taste." Conselheiro's *cabeleira*, in contrast, works as a reminder of a colonial past that must be overcome.

35. Alan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (1986): 3–64.

36. This was not a new theme for Machado. In his novella *O alienista*, for example, published in 1882, he tells the story of a renowned doctor who searches for a positivist way to distinguish the lunatics from the sane. Once the doctor realizes that he has put his whole town in the asylum, he concludes that he himself must be the abnormal one. Hence, he releases all the "lunatics" and locks himself up. The central issue of *O alienista* is the flimsy scientific pretense that draws lines between the normal and pathological, and the use of psychiatric discourse in the governance of bodies and peoples.

37. As Joaquim Marçal Ferreira de Andrade has shown in *História da fotorreportagem no Brasil: A fotografia na imprensa do Rio de Janeiro de 1839 a 1900* (Rio de Janeiro: Elsevier, 2004), a detailed history of the nineteenth-century antecedents of photojournalism in Brazil, there were some exceptions, which included woodcut or lithographic portraits printed in loose pages, separate from the text itself. However, although there were some attempts to implement the use of woodcuts in the press—which, unlike lithography, had the advantage of being compatible with typography—these were soon abandoned due to the lack of expertise in producing woodcuts, which had to be imported from Europe. *A Revista da Semana—fotografias, vistas instantâneas, desenhos e caricaturas*, founded in 1900, was the first illustrated magazine to

regularly use the halftone process (Andrade, *História da fotorreportagem no Brasil*, 240).

38. Juan Gutierrez was a Spanish photographer. In 1880 he was already working in Rio de Janeiro and soon became one of the most recognized portraitists and landscape photographers in the capital. In the 1890s he became the only Brazilian representative to the prestigious Societé Française de Photographie. See Boris Kossoy, *Dicionário histórico-fotográfico brasileiro: Fotógrafos e ofício da fotografia no Brasil, 1833–1910* (São Paulo: Instituto Moreira Salles, 2002).

39. Joaquim Marçal Ferreira de Andrade, "A fotografia de guerra e o episódio de Canudos ou a documentação como alvo," in Instituto Moreira Salles, *Cadernos de fotografia brasileira: Canudos* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Moreira Salles, 2002), 256–57.

40. See, for instance, Cícero Antônio F. de Almeida, *Canudos: Imagens da guerra* (Rio de Janeiro: Museu da República/Lacerda Editores, 1997), 25; and Kossoy, *Dicionário histórico-fotográfico*, 74–75. Elsewhere, Almeida mentions a text by the photographer and researcher Claude Santos, in which he affirms that Barros also worked as a portrait painter. The only reference to this article is on a website that is no longer available, and I did not find any historical reference to prove this assertion. See Cícero Antônio F. de Almeida, "O sertão pacificado: O papel da fotografia na Guerra de Canudos" (MA diss., Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 1999), 273.

41. Quoted in Cícero Antônio F. de Almeida, "O álbum fotográfico de Flávio de Barros: Memória e representação da guerra de Canudos," *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos*, vol. 5 (1998), 284.

42. Brizuela, "'Curiosity! Wonder!! Horror!!! Misery!!!!'" 151.

43. Kodak's flexible negative films became available in 1888, but the dimensions of Barros's photographs suggest the use of conventional dry plates measuring 18 × 24 cm and 12 × 18 cm (Almeida, "O sertão pacificado," 278).

44. Almeida, "O sertão pacificado," 278–79

45. These two albums are stored at the Museu da República in Rio de Janeiro, along with three platinum prints of Canudos whose authorship is contested (Almeida points out that they may have been taken by Juan Gutierrez, the photographer who died on the battlefield). There is also an album located at the Instituto Geográfico e Histórico da Bahia in Salvador, containing 68 photos, and another at the Casa de Cultura Euclides da Cunha in São José do Rio Pardo, São Paulo, with 23 images. All of the images in the two last albums are present in the Museu da República's album, except one. Hence, the total number of known photographs taken by Barros at Canudos is 70. These were all restored and reproduced in Instituto Moreira Salles, *Cadernos de fotografia brasileira: Canudos*.

46. See, for example, the discussions of American Civil War photographs in Timothy Sweet, *Traces of War: Poetry, Photography, and the Crisis of the Union* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); and Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*.

47. See, for example, reporters Favila Nunes's and Manuel Benício's dispatches reproduced in Galvão, *No calor da hora*. Such negative aspects are

omitted or disguised in Euclides da Cunha's news reporting. Almeida ("O álbum fotográfico"), author of the first book reproducing Flávio de Barros's albums, was one of the first to counterpose the critical comments about the Canudos Campaign in the news with the positive images made by Flávio de Barros.

48. Ana Maria Mauad, "'O *olho da história*': Análise da imagem fotográfica na construção de uma memória sobre o conflito de Canudos," *Acervo: Revista do Arquivo Nacional* 6, no. 1–2 (December 1993): 25–40; Almeida, *Canudos: Imagens da guerra*; Almeida, "O álbum fotográfico"; Almeida, "O sertão pacificado"; and Andermann, *Optic of the State*.

49. In Andermann, *Optic of the State*, 196–202.

50. See Berthold Zilly, "Flávio de Barros, o ilustre cronista anônimo da guerra de Canudos: As fotografias que Euclides da Cunha gostaria de ter tirado," *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos*, vol. 5 (1998), https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104–59701998000400018. Andermann argues that this out-of-frame makes its way into the frame through indexical excesses. An example of that is the way in which this supplemental violence appears in the staged scene of the wounded *jagunça* by recording the presence of men in the back rows trying to make their way into the image and take a look at her. Instead of an image of care, this turns the *jagunça* into a "trophy," at the same time that "the second place of the image also undercuts its claims of orderliness and control." Andermann, *Optic of the State*, 198.

51. Campos Johnson, *Sentencing Canudos*, 164–65.

52. I use the term *conselheiristas* to refer to those who fought to hold Belo Monte against the Brazilian army. *Jagunços*, a regional term that already existed to refer to ruffians or armed bodyguards who did the dirty work for the landowners in the *sertões*, was largely popularized during the Canudos Campaign as a way to criminalize the Belo Monte dwellers. A *sertanejo* refers to a person from the *sertão*.

53. The children of Canudos are used as evidence of the good heart of military men, for example, in Émidio Dantas Barreto's *A última expedição à Canudos* (Porto Alegre: Editores Franco e Irmão, 1898), 239–40.

54. See, for example, da Cunha's letter to the orphan, named Ludgero Prestes, on October 7, 1908. Euclides da Cunha, *Correspondência de Euclides da Cunha*, ed. Walnice Nogueira Galvão and Oswaldo Galotti (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1997), 380.

55. In his account of the last day of the Canudos Campaign, Col Dantas Barreto describes the importance of this moment, when soldiers "impatiently" made themselves into the "ruínas fanáticas" [fanatic ruins] to scrutinize every corner and "all that was mysterious about them." Émidio Dantas Barreto, *A última expedição à Canudos* (Porto Alegre: Editores Franco e Irmão, 1898), 229–30.

56. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 38.

57. Sweet, *Traces of War*, 124.

58. In using the term "ruin gazing," I follow Julia Hell and Andreas Schönle's assertion about the relationship between ruins and modernity in *Ruins of Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010). In secular modernities, the

centrality of the experience of an insuperable break from the past allows ruins to become objects of contemplation as both signs of that break and traces from the past which should be cherished (Hell and Schönle, eds. *Ruins of Modernity*, 5).

59. See José Calasans's "Canudos: Origem e desenvolvimento," *Revista da Academia de Letras da Bahia* 34 (January 1987), 4.

60. Stoler, *Imperial Debris*, ix.

61. Almeida, "O sertão pacificado," 285.

62. Rielle Navitski, *Public Spectacles of Violence: Sensational Cinema and Journalism in Early Twentieth-Century Mexico and Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).

63. Brizuela, "'Curiosity! Wonder!! Horror!!! Misery!!!!'" 145–46.

64. The massacre was vehemently criticized by the monarchist Afonso Arinos right after the end of the conflict in the newspaper *O Comércio de São Paulo*, which also published a report written by journalist Lélis Piedade decrying the abuses committed against women and children. In 1898, three books were published on the campaign: *Os jagunços* (1898), by Afonso Arinos (Brasilia: Philobiblion, 1985); *Última expedição de Canudos* (Porto Alegre: Editores Franco & Irmão, 1898), by the future minister of war and Pernambuco governor Emídio Dantas Barreto; and *A quarta expedição contra Canudos* (Pará: Tipografia Pinto Barbosa & Cia., 1898), by Major Antônio Constantino Neri. In the same year, *Guerra de Canudos* was published in installments by the journalist Favila Nunes. Three books published in 1899 also criticized the army: *Descrição de uma viagem a Canudos* (Bahia: Lito-Tipografia Tourinho, 1899) by Alvim Martins Horcades, a medical student who had worked as a volunteer during the conflict; *Líbelo republicano acompanhado de comentário sobre a Campanha de Canudos* (Bahia: Tipografia e Encadernação do "Diário da Bahia," 1899) by César Zama; and the novel *O rei dos jagunços* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 2003) by Manuel Benício.

65. Roberto Ventura, *Os sertões*, Folha Explica, vol. 51 (São Paulo: PubliFolha, 2002), 10–11.

66. *Os sertões* was Euclides da Cunha's first work and earned him a nomination for a seat in the Brazilian Academy of Letters, which had been founded in December 1896.

67. Euclides da Cunha, "Academia Brasileira de Letras: Discurso de recepção," in *Obras completas*, vol. 1: 114.

68. Lorraine Daston and Peter Gallison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2010).

69. Hyppolite Taine, *De l'intelligence*, 2 vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1870). In Taine's epistemology, perceptual error, delusions, and false memories are intrinsic to knowledge, and the only way to get closer to truth is by reconciling mental images, "rêve du dedans," with external objects.

70. See Zakir Paul, "Gathering Intelligence from Taine to Bergson," *L'Esprit Créateur* 56, no. 4 (Winter 2016): 149.

71. Scholars have more consistently pointed out Taine's influence on da Cunha in the partitioning of *Os sertões* into three sections—"The Land," "Man," "The Battle"—which bear a strong similarity to Taine's theory that a

historical approach should consider its subject within its hereditary, sociological, and historical conditions—"race, milieu, moment"—than in the way da Cunha builds the book's narrator.

72. Ferreira da Silva, *Toward a Global Idea of Race*.

73. In his study of the conditions that supposedly explain Canudos as a manifestation of primitivism, da Cunha relies not only on Taine but on a series of authors, from the English anthropologist Herbert Spencer to the Brazilian medical anthropologist Raimundo Nina Rodrigues.

74. A reassessment of da Cunha's text that examines his construction of a narrator for whom truth only emerges in a tuning of internal images by the sensorial, the back-and-forth between synthetic abstraction and empirical observation, complicates the dual emphasis that critics have placed on the power of science and vision in the book. I refer here, first, to the assumption that the role of vision in *Os sertões* reflects the author's intention to establish complete domain over the reality being analyzed. The second diagnosis, which appears in late twentieth-century readings of *Os sertões*, switches the focus to the aporias and limits of the author's scientific project, suggesting that da Cunha's text escapes the hegemony of scientific discourse when the reality he describes seems to overwhelm or resist his gaze or his reasoning, appearing through words like mirages or illusions. See, for example, Costa Lima, *Terra ignota*; and Roberto González Echevarría, *Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin American Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), chapter 3. More recently, Campos Johnson provided an insightful critique of this model of reading *Os sertões* that focuses on the impasses, aporias, and limits of da Cunha's scientific project, and concludes that these features end up redeeming the text: "He now sees because, either consciously or unconsciously, he is confronted with the problem of not seeing" (*Sentencing Canudos*, 17). What interests me is not just a question of visibility versus invisibility, as if the visible were always on the side of objectivity, but how photographers and writers in this period engaged in disputed conceptualizations of the relationship between vision and knowledge, and, more specifically, ethical knowledge.

75. Regina Abreu, *O enigma de "Os sertões"* (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte/Rocco, 1998).

76. Euclides da Cunha, "Olhemos para nossa terra," *O País* (Rio de Janeiro), May 14, 1904.

77. For more on the strands of evolutionary thought in the late nineteenth century, see Nancy Stepan's *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991); and Lilia Schwarcz's *The Spectacle of Races*.

78. Euclides da Cunha, *À margem da história* (Porto, Port.: Chardron, 1909; reprint, São Paulo: Editora Cultrix, 1975); Euclide da Cunha, *The Amazon: Land without History*, trans. Ronald Sousa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

79. Da Cunha, "Olhemos para nossa terra," 36.

80. Costa Lima, *Terra ignota*, 24–35.

81. I use "newspapers" as a substitute for Elizabeth Lowe's term "journal" in *Backlands*.

82. Euclides da Cunha cites in particular Scipio Singhele, the Italian author of *The Criminal Crowd* (*La follà criminale*).

83. Euclides da Cunha, *Caderneta de campo*, ed. Olímpio de Souza Andrade (Rio de Janeiro: Cadernos da Biblioteca Nacional, 2009).

84. Leopoldo Bernucci, "Pressupostos historiográficos para uma leitura de *Os sertões*," *Revista USP* 54 (June–August 2002): 15.

85. Among all these different documents, one might assume that photographs would provide the privileged access to facts desired by a nineteenth-century writer with positivist aspirations. After all, technical images have an indexical, chemical-optical quality that supposedly allows for "mechanical objectivity," that is, "the insistent drive to repress the willful intervention of the artist-author" (Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 121). Photographers and photographic institutions at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century incessantly claimed that their practice served the work of the historian. Multiple library sections and archives worldwide were dedicated exclusively to the preservation and organization of photographs. Photographic sections were created, for example, for recording state and military events. And yet, as different scholars have noticed, few attempts at studying history through photographs were made until the last decades of the twentieth century. See Ilsen About and Clément Chéroux, "L'histoire par la photographie," *Études Photographiques* 10 (November 2001): 8–33; Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001); and Boris Kossoy and Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *Um olhar sobre o Brasil: A fotografia na construção da imagem da nação, 1833–2003* (Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 2012).

86. See chapter 4 of Campos Johnson's *Sentencing Canudos* for an insightful discussion of the difference between the *jagunço* and the *sertanejo* in da Cunha's work.

87. Sontag, *On Photography*, 83.

88. Da Cunha, *Correspondência de Euclides da Cunha*, 133.

89. I borrow here Jose Barreto Bastos's title on the symbolic war against Canudos: *Incompreensível e bárbaro inimigo: A guerra simbólica contra Canudos* (Salvador: Editora da Universidade Federal da Bahia, 1995).

90. For a discussion of da Cunha's readings of the manuscripts found in the ruins of Canudos, see Roberto Ventura's "Canudos como cidade iletrada: Euclides da Cunha na *urbs* monstruosa," *Revista de Antropologia* 40, no. 1 (1997): 165–81.

91. The passage is not translated in the English version of *Backlands*. The translation is mine.

92. In a poem written in 1905, titled "Dedicatória," da Cunha uses a photographic vocabulary to talk about the desire to bring together depth and surface, and inscribe the soul on the skin of a photographic plate (*Obras completas*, vol. 1: 508).

93. Rachel Price's *The Object of the Atlantic: Concrete Aesthetics in Cuba, Brazil, and Spain, 1868–1968* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2014) locates *Os sertões* and other turn-of-the-century histories in the genealogy of the concrete as part of a shift "toward privileging inscription" instead of a lyric interior.

94. The English translation chooses "moat" to translate *vala*.

95. Walnice Nogueira Galvão calls attention to the recurrence of death images throughout *Os sertões*, and suggests that the first two parts of the book, in which the author explores, respectively, the climatic and geologic aspects of the region and the anthropological formation of its inhabitants, serve as a kind of prologue to the third part, in which he narrates the combat between the *jagunços* and the army. Galvão's argument is that da Cunha inscribes the conflict into nature, dramatizing it. See Galvão, *Euclidiana*, 38–39.

96. These different sections have received titles in modern editions of *Os sertões* in both Portuguese and English. Following the 1902 and 1905 editions, I do not use titles here.

97. In *Picture Theory*, W. J. T. Mitchell suggests that ekphrasis—the verbal representation of visual representation—puts into play a dynamic that is not only aesthetic but also social. It involves the hope of overcoming the borders between the text and its other, as well as the fear of not being able to do so. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

98. Costa Lima, *Terra ignota*; Raul Antelo, "Series e sertões: A questão da heterogeneidade," *Outra Travessia*, vol. 2 (2004): 13–21.

99. Da Cunha, *Contrastes e confrontos*, vol. 1: 43.

100. Da Cunha, *Contrastes e confrontos*, vol. 1: 37.

101. Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 168.

102. This connection between Canudos and contemporary *favelas* is not new. First, there is a historical reason: one of the versions of the history of the emergence of the first slum in Rio begins with the soldiers' return from the Canudos battlefield. Without money or support from the state, they occupied a hill in the city center of Rio de Janeiro called Favela. Beyond this historical anecdote, Canudos has also reemerged at the center of struggles for the recognition of vernacular architecture and communitarian ways of life in informal communities.

CHAPTER 2

This chapter is derived from an article published in the *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, 2021, copyright © Taylor and Francis, available online at: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13569325.2020.1805589.

1. For a discussion of the interrelated processes of consolidation of national borders and global capitalist colonialism in the Amazon, see Susanna B. Hecht, *The Scramble for the Amazon and the "Lost Paradise" of Euclides da Cunha* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

2. For historical accounts of the rubber boom, see Barbara Weinstein, *The Amazonian Rubber Boom 1850–1920* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983); Michael Edward Stanfield, *Red Rubber, Bleeding Trees: Violence, Slavery, and Empire in Northwest Amazonia, 1850–1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); Richard Collier, *The River That God Forgot: The Story of the Amazon Rubber Boom* (New York: Dutton, 1968); and Hecht, *The Scramble for the Amazon*.

3. In using the term "humanitarian," I follow authors who consider that, although the history of humanitarianism dates back to the emergence of moral sentiments in philosophical reflection from the eighteenth century onward—connected to shifting notions of pain (Amato and Monge), the rise of sentimental literature, and the spread of capitalist markets (Haskell)—it was in the nineteenth century, with the antislavery and missionary movements, that humanitarianism became prominent among cosmopolitan publics in Western capitals, nations, and empires. Joseph Anthony Amato and David Monge, *Victims and Values: A History and a Theory of Suffering* (New York: Greenwood, 1990). See also Michael N. Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011); Burroughs, *Travel Writing and Atrocities*; and Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins, Part 1," and "Capitalism and the Origins, Part 2." The term "humanitarian" was used for the first time in 1844 in England. Although Casement's task and position as British consul was not officially humanitarian, he worked directly in connection with the Anti-Slavery Society and with E. D. Morel, who "served as a center of calculation, receiving and redistributing firsthand testimonies through humanitarian networks" (Burroughs, *Travel Writing and Atrocities*, 9). Moreover, Casement saw the mobilization of public opinion as a crucial aspect in the success of the Putumayo case (i.e., in any chance of reforms to ameliorate the living conditions of the Indigenous populations)—and had even worked personally as an advocate and fundraiser for a missionary expedition to be sent to the region.

4. The expression appears in Casement's notes about a conversation he had with a trader from Iquitos on August 26, 1910. See "Notes written by Roger Casement titled 'Notes of talk with Mr Victor Israel' concerning the Putumayo and Amazon River region in regard to the treatment of South American Indians, 1910 Aug. 26," National Library of Ireland (hereafter NLI), MS 13,087/26i/1, 1.

5. I thank Erna von der Walde for directing me to this source. Sydney Paternoster, "The Devil's Paradise: A British Owned Congo," *Truth* (September 22, 1909): 663–66.

6. For a history of the company, see Roberto Pineda Camacho, *Holocausto en el Amazonas: Una historia social de la Casa Arana* (Bogotá: Espasa, 2000).

7. Roger Casement, *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, ed. Angus Mitchell (London: Anaconda Editions, 1997), 163.

8. For a study of textual and visual sources about the Barbadians employed by the Peruvian Amazon Company, see Gabriel Cabrera Becerra, "La presencia antillana en la Amazonia: Los negros barbadenses en la explotación del caucho y sus imágenes," *Memorias: Revista Digital de Arqueología e Historia desde el Caribe* 14, no. 36 (2018).

9. See Charlotte Rodgers, *Jungle Fever: Exploring Madness and Medicine in Twentieth-Century Tropical Narratives* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012).

10. For a discussion of the constitution of the Amazon as a "space of death," see Michael Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). In his book, Taussig relies on Casement's Blue Book to examine the Irishman's effort to me-

diate terror through an "objectivist fiction." Taussig did not focus on *The Amazon Journal*, which, I argue, complicates such a claim.

11. Roger Casement, "Correspondence respecting the Treatment of British Colonial Subjects and Native Indians Employed in the Collection of Rubber in the Putumayo District," *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, vol. 68 (February 14, 1912–March 7, 1913), also known as the Blue Book.

12. The Black Diaries were partially published by Roger Sawyer. See Roger Casement, *Roger Casement's Diaries: 1910: The Black and the White*, ed. Roger Sawyer (London: Random House, 1997).

13. Quoted in Angus Mitchell, "The Diaries Controversy," in Casement, *The Amazon Journal*, 36.

14. See Burroughs, *Travel Writing and Atrocities*; Angus Mitchell, "Histories of 'Red Rubber' Revisited: Roger Casement's Critique of Empire," *ABEI Journal* 18 (2016); Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man*; Roger Casement, *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness: The 1911 Documents*, ed. Angus Mitchell (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2003); Margaret O'Callaghan, "'With the Eyes of Another Race, of a People Once Hunted Themselves': Casement, Colonialism and a Remembered Past," in *Roger Casement in Irish and World History*, ed. Mary E. Daly (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2005).

15. See Peter Singleton-Gates and Maurice Girodias, "Introduction," in *The Black Diaries: An Account of Roger Casement's Life and Times with a Collection of His Diaries and Public Writings*, ed. Peter Singleton-Gates and Maurice Girodias (New York: Grove, 1959), 15–35; Michael G. Cronin, "Pain, Pleasure, and Revolution: The Body in Roger Casement's Writings," in *The Body in Pain in Irish Literature and Culture*, ed. Fionnuala Dillane, Naomi McAreavey, and Emilie Pine (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); David Squires, "Roger Casement's Queer Archive," *PMLA* 132, no. 3 (2017); and Javier Uriarte, "'Splendid testemunhos': Documenting Atrocities, Bodies, and Desire in Roger Casement's Black Diaries," in *Intimate Frontiers: A Literary Geography of the Amazon*, ed. Felipe Martínez Pinzón and Javier Uriarte (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019).

16. In "Splendid testemunhos," Javier Uriarte treats the Black Diaries not as a separate document, but in the context of the Putumayo investigation. Even though he discusses the relationship between photographing and sexual desire in Casement's diaries, in his article Uriarte does not analyze photographs themselves.

17. Many of the issues raised by John Beverly in his analysis of Latin American testimonial literature (a genre born in the 1960s, but whose precursors can be traced back to abolitionist and humanitarian texts from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) apply to Casement's use of the testimonies of the Barbadian men. Although not in the context of a gesture "against literature," the affirmation of their truth value is based on the sincere intentions of the narrators despite (or because of) their simplicity, and authenticity can be seen in a supposedly direct transcription (without mediation) of the witnesses' speech. Casement repeatedly emphasizes the sincere intentions of the simple Barbadians, their urge to speak as the cause of the testimony, and his efforts to transcribe their exact words. At the same time, the same criticism made of

the "unmediated" character of the testimonials of the 1960s can be applied to Casement's: he is the coauthor of the testimonies that he not only wrote down himself, but conducted, through questions and even pressure on those who he thought were not speaking the truth. See John Beverley, *Against Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

18. Kevin Coleman, "The Photos We Don't Get to See: Sovereignties, Archives, and the 1928 Massacre of Banana Workers in Colombia," in *Making the Empire Work: Labor and United States Imperialism*, ed. Daniel E. Bender and Jana K. Lipman (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 119.

19. Secrecy and obliteration have also been widely thematized in the debates about Auschwitz. See, for example, Georges Didi-Huberman's *Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz*, trans. Shane B. Lillis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); and Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret: Suppression of the Truth about Hitler's "Final Solution"* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1980).

20. See Thomas Laqueur, "Bodies, Details, and the Humanitarian Narrative," in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Boltanski, *Distant Suffering*; and Christina Twomey, "Severed Hands: Authenticating Atrocity in the Congo," in *Photography and Atrocity*, ed. Geoff Batchen, Mick Gidley, Jay Prosser, and Nancy Miller (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 39–50.

21. Scarry, *The Body in Pain*. For more on the representation of wounded bodies in humanitarian narratives, see Laqueur, who argues that such narratives have focused on details of victims' individual bodies as both "signs of truth" and "as the object of the scientific discourse." Laqueur, "Bodies, Details, and the Humanitarian Narrative," 177.

22. See Jordan Goodman, *The Devil and Mr. Casement: One Man's Battle for Human Rights in South America's Heart of Darkness* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010); and Goodman, "Mr Casement Goes to Washington: The Politics of the Putumayo Photographs," *ABEI Journal* 12 (November 2010).

23. Quoted in Goodman, "Mr Casement Goes to Washington," 28.

24. The trajectory of this photograph was first brought up by Goodman in *The Devil and Mr. Casement*.

25. The Colombian anthropologist Juan Álvaro Echeverri attempts to fill in the void of Indigenous voices by addressing the memory of the Putumayo atrocities from the point of view of the Muinane Indigenous group in "To Heal or to Remember: Indian Memory of the Rubber Boom and Roger Casement's 'Basket of Life,'" *ABEI Journal* 12 (November 2010).

26. Didier Fassin and Estelle d'Halluin, "The Truth from the Body: Medical Certificates as Ultimate Evidence for Asylum Seekers," *American Anthropologist* 107, no. 4 (2005): 598.

27. It has often been remarked that the nineteenth-century belief in photography's capacity to testify to a presence is related to the fact that photography results from the inscription of the light that emanates from the forms in front of the camera, which later, drawing on Peirce's theory of the sign, was called the "indexical" characteristics of the image. Charles Peirce, *Selected Writings* (New York: Dover, 1958).

28. For a historical account of the relationship between the invention of photographic techniques and the modern desire to eliminate the mediation of language from the process of representation, as well as the contingencies and specificities of vision, see Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).

29. The photographic collection sent to Washington was first uncovered by historian Jordan Goodman at the National Archives in Washington, DC. See Goodman, "Mr Casement Goes to Washington."

30. Roger Casement, "Photographs of Putumayo Indians," January 26, 1912, US National Archives, Record Group 59: General Records of the Department of State 1910–29 Central Decimal File. File: 823.5048/30. Because there is a page missing from the original document provided to me by the US National Archives (closed for in-person consultation during the COVID-19 pandemic), I am relying on Jordan Goodman's transcription of the very last part of the quote in "Mr Casement Goes to Washington," 41.

31. Roger Casement, letter to Gertrude Bannister, October 9, 1906, NLI, MS 13,074/3ii/11.

32. Roger Casement, letter to Edward Grey, March 4, 1907, NLI, MS 13,081/2i/2.

33. Roger Casement, letter to E. D. Morel, March 18, 1908, in *Roger Casement in Brazil: Rubber, the Amazon and the Atlantic World, 1884–1916*, ed. Angus Mitchell and Laura P. Z. Izarra (São Paulo: Humanitas, 2010), 65.

34. Quoted in Séamas Ó Síocháin, *Roger Casement: Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* (Dublin: Lilliput, 2008), 250.

35. Quoted in Ó Síocháin, *Roger Casement*, 253. Another critique of the system of rubber extraction in Brazil, which described the debt peonage system, had been published by Euclides da Cunha in the magazine *Kosmos* in 1906: "Entre os seringais," *Kosmos* 3, no. 1 (January 1906). Both travelers noted the striking contrast between the technologically advanced, highly capitalized rubber goods industry on the one hand, and the primitive Amazonian system of rubber extraction and the colonial-like modes of exploitation of the workforce on the other.

36. For a lengthier discussion of Casement's criticism of the Brazilian rubber economy, see Ó Síocháin, *Roger Casement*.

37. Benjamin Saldaña Rocca was the first to accuse Julio César Arana and his rubber-gathering regime through his two newspapers, *La Felpa* and *La Sanción*. In 1908 Saldaña Rocca was forced to leave Iquitos and went to live in Lima, where he died destitute in 1912.

38. According to Robert Burroughs's historical analysis of British humanitarian campaigns of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Casement's Putumayo report represented a move from a style of travel writing on atrocity that focused on the subjectivity of the traveler, based on the "confession of 'darkest' secrets and 'inner savagery,'" to a more legalistic language. Burroughs, *Travel Writing and Atrocities*, 47.

39. See Burroughs, *Travel Writing and Atrocities*, 70.

40. I don't intend to contribute to the debate over Casement's biography in this book, but it is important to take into consideration his growing involve-

ment with the Irish nationalist movement when analyzing the different documents Casement produced during his Putumayo trip. Although, as Margaret O'Callaghan ("With the Eyes of Another Race") has shown, Casement had expressed his Irish nationalism in his early writings and poems, during the period after his return from the Congo, he strengthened his relationships with the nationalist movement. During the years spent in Ireland before he assumed his consular position in Brazil, he made connections with prominent Irish nationalist intellectuals and published his first articles critical of British rule in Ireland. Nor do I aim to add to the debates on Casement's subjectivity or personality. Instead, I claim here that in the Putumayo expedition, Casement had to deal with the contradictions of being both a British consular officer (thus representing British interests) and an Irishman and humanitarian.

41. Margaret Rich Greer, Walter Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

42. Didi-Huberman, *Images in Spite of All*, 6.

43. John Dewey, quoted in James Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 100.

44. Through an analysis of Hines's pedagogical strategies, Alan Trachtenberg concludes that the non-interventionist creed that underlined the "documental" in the 1930s does not fit entirely with the photographic aesthetic developed by Hine. In this sense, my work is deeply indebted to Trachtenberg's. See Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), 192.

45. Roger Casement, letter to Alice Stopford Green, April 20, 1907, NLI MS 10464 /3/1. Alice Stopford Green was an Irish scholar who participated in the foundation of the Africa Society in 1901 and was a founding member of the School of Irish Studies in 1903. She became one of Casement's closest friends.

46. For a historical account of travel writing in the Putumayo, see Lesley Wylie, *Colombia's Forgotten Frontier: A Literary Geography of the Putumayo* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013).

47. Rafael Reyes, *The Two Americas*, trans. Leopold Grahame (London: Werner Laurie, 1913). Mary Louise Pratt named this traveler who saw nature as raw material—and Indigenous people as laborers—the "capitalist vanguard." Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 141–68.

48. Letter written by Julio César Arana, archived and annotated by Casement, London, December 28, 1909, NLI, MS13,087/3.

49. Hardenburg's book was named after the article by Paternoster published in *Truth* magazine in 1909. Walter E. Hardenburg, *The Putumayo: The Devil's Paradise: Travels in the Peruvian Amazon Region and an Account of the Atrocities Committed upon the Indians Therein*, ed. Reginald Enock (London: T. F. Unwin, 1912).

50. Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 36–38.

51. For a thorough discussion of the war of images spurred by the Putumayo, including Robuchon's photographs, see Alberto Chirif and Manuel Cornejo

Chaparro, *Imaginario e imágenes de la época del caucho: Los sucesos del Putumayo* (Lima: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica; Copenhagen: IWGIA; Iquitos, Perú: Universidad Científica del Perú, 2009). Chirif and Chaparro provide an insightful reading of the conflictual use of Robuchon's papers as evidence.

52. In 1907, Casa Arana and the Peruvian consul in Manaus, Carlos Rey de Castro (who played an important role in Arana's defense), published a version of Robuchon's diary accompanied by a selection of his found photographs: Eugène Robuchon, *En el Putumayo y sus afluentes* (Lima: Imprenta La Industria, 1907).

53. Boltanski, *Distant Suffering*, 16–17.

54. *The Illustrated London News*, July 20, 1912.

55. Roger Casement, "The Putumayo Indians," *The Contemporary Review* 102 (1912).

56. Brian Inglis, *Roger Casement* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1973), 257; Ó Síocháin, *Roger Casement*, 356.

57. Roger Casement, "The Keeper of the Seas," in *The Crime Against Europe: The Causes of the War and the Foundations of Peace* (Berlin: The Continental Times, 1915), 22.

58. Lesley Wylie, "Rare Models: Roger Casement, the Amazon, and the Ethnographic Picturesque," *Irish Studies Review* 18, no. 3 (2010): 316.

59. See Roslyn Poignant, *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004).

60. See the painting in Carolina Sá Carvalho, "How to See a Scar: Humanitarianism and Colonial Iconography in the Putumayo Rubber Boom," *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 27, no. 3 (March 2018): 389.

61. As Deborah Poole has argued in her article on photographs in Oaxaca, Mexico, it was not an uncommon practice at the beginning of the twentieth century to have the same subjects represented in both photography and painting. In some cases, the painting isolated certain elements of the photograph, such as the physiognomic traits or the material culture, creating different types of racial or cultural genealogies. Poole, "An Image of 'Our Indian': Type Photographs and Racial Sentiments in Oaxaca, 1920–1940," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84, no. 1 (2004).

62. Quoted in Wylie, "Rare Models," 322.

63. Quoted in Wylie, "Rare Models," 321.

64. As Wylie points out, despite its insistence on the direct, physical presence of the young men's bodies, the interview was in fact a compilation of testimonies that the Huitotos had given to Bishop—the Barbadian man who had become Casement's interpreter—in Pará in December 1910. Casement, who did not speak the Huitoto language, is cited in the article as the Huitoto men's interpreter. Wylie, "Rare Models," 321.

65. One of the most influential anthropometric systems, produced by J. H. Lamprey in 1869, advocated the use of a wooden frame with silk threads hung so as to form two-inch squares against which each subject would be photographed.

66. For a critique of salvage anthropology, see James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cam-

bridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations* 26, no. 1 (1989); and Marshall Sahlins, "Ethnographic Experience and Sentimental Pessimism: Why Culture Is Not a Disappearing Object," in *Biographies of Scientific Objects*, ed. Lorraine Daston (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

67. Quoted in Wylie, "Rare Models," 327.

68. Goodman, "Mr Casement Goes to Washington."

69. Goodman, "Mr Casement Goes to Washington," 31.

70. Roger Casement, "Photographs of Putumayo Indians," January 26, 1912, US National Archives. Record Group 59: General Records of the Department of State 1910–29 Central Decimal File. File: 823.5048/30.

71. Casement, "Photographs of Putumayo Indians."

72. Casement, "Photographs of Putumayo Indians."

73. Roger Casement, letter to Alice Stopford Green, April 20, 1907, NLI, MS10464 /3/1

CHAPTER 3

1. Susan Sontag's *Regarding the Pain of Others* provides a variety of examples of such history, including the debates about photographs of the American Civil War.

2. From 1890 to 1892, under the recently established republican government, Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, then a young military engineer, participated in the construction of a 360-mile line in the state of Mato-Grosso. In 1900, Rondon was charged with leading a military commission that inaugurated, in 1906, 1,100 miles of telegraph lines. The so-called Rondon Commission also surveyed and mapped vast territories of the Brazilian northwest. In 1910, Rondon became the first director of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índio (Indian Protection Service)—the federal agency entrusted with protecting Indigenous peoples—and devised a plan for establishing relationships with the Indigenous people through a process of pacification through acculturation. In defining his itinerary, Lévi-Strauss decided to follow Rondon's telegraph lines, which he described as a failed civilizational project: by the time the line was finally being completed, it had quietly been superseded by shortwave radiotelegraphy. For historical accounts of the Rondon Commission, see Todd A. Diacon, *Stringing Together a Nation: Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon and the Construction of a Modern Brazil, 1906–1930* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); and Laura Antunes Maciel, *A Nação por um fio: Caminhos, práticas e imagens da "Comissão Rondon"* (São Paulo: EDUC, 1998).

3. Unless noted, I quote from the English translation of *Tristes Tropiques* by John and Doreen Weightman (New York: Penguin, 2012). My comments on the photographs published in *Tristes Tropiques* draw from the first French edition of *Tristes tropiques* (Paris: Plon, 1955). The images I use were reproduced from the Brazilian edition *Tristes trópicos*, trans. Rosa Freire Aguiar (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2010), which allowed for higher-quality copies.

4. Matthieu Lévi-Strauss, personal communication.

5. Claude Imbert, "On Anthropological Knowledge," in *The Cambridge Companion to Lévi-Strauss*, ed. Boris Wiseman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 125.

6. For a discussion of the formative role of Lévi-Strauss's encounter with Brazilian Indigenous tribes, see Fernanda Peixoto's "Lévi-Strauss no Brasil: A formação do etnólogo," *Mana* 4, no. 1 (1998); and Patrick Wilcken's *Claude Lévi-Strauss: The Poet in the Laboratory* (New York: Penguin, 2010).

7. The importance of Dina Lévi-Strauss in the formation of Brazilian ethnography is discussed in works by scholars Ellen Spielman, Luisa Valentini, and Luciana Martins. See Ellen Spielman, *Das Verschwinden Dina Lévi-Strauss' und der Transvestismus Mário de Andrade: Genealogische Rätsel in der Geschichte der Sozial und Humanwissenschaften im modernen Brasilien / La desaparición de Dina Lévi-Strauss y el transvestismo de Mário de Andrade* (Berlin: WVB, Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2003); Luisa Valentini, *Um laboratório de antropologia: O encontro entre Mário de Andrade, Dina Dreyfus e Claude Lévi-Strauss, 1935–1938* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2013); and Martins, *Photography and Documentary Film in the Making of Modern Brazil.*

8. In this respect, Imbert argues that it was in the 1950s that Lévi-Strauss explicitly focused on anthropological knowledge: "When Lévi-Strauss came back from New York, he might have decided either to start new fieldwork in the Pacific or to pursue his theoretical research, turning to some non-elementary structures of kinship. These would have supplied a link of sorts to confront contemporary social constructions of family relations in postwar Western societies. Although he never forgot his concern for civil life, he finally chose a third option, precisely to reconsider anthropological knowledge as such" (Imbert, "On Anthropological Knowledge," 118).

9. James Boon, *From Symbolism to Structuralism: Lévi-Strauss in a Literary Tradition* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972), 141

10. In *From Symbolism to Structuralism* (1972), Boon presents Lévi-Strauss's theory of knowledge as the act of re-encoding a previous text in a new one, and argues that in *Tristes tropiques* "Lévi-Strauss most clearly demonstrates his own personal basis of symbolist sensitivity" (148). More recently, Boris Wiseman stated that "the geological allegory contained in *Tristes Tropiques* conceals a theory of aesthetic perception." Wiseman, *Lévi-Strauss, Anthropology and Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 52. Wiseman, who in this follows Yvan Simonis, not only shows "the connected nature between the aesthetic and anthropological dimensions of Lévi-Strauss's thought" (10), but also reveals the latter's attempt to grasp this connection through the question of language: "What kind of 'language' is best suited to the carrying out of the programme of structural anthropology, 'metonymic' or 'metaphorical'?" (10). Vincent Debaene, in *Far Afield: French Anthropology between Science and Literature*, trans. Justin Izzo (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), his thorough study of the relationship between literature and ethnography in France, argues that *Tristes tropiques* is "the result of an experience in writing" (220) that "offers the opportunity for an initial experience of the logic of sensation" (212), which Lévi-Strauss would later develop in *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966) and *The Naked Man*, trans. John Weight-

man and Doreen Weightman, vol. 4 of *Mythologiques* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

11. Many of the Rondon Commission's photographs and film stills were later published in the three-volume work *Índios do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Conselho Nacional de Proteção aos Índios, Ministério da Agricultura, 1946–53).

12. Rondon, *Índios do Brasil*, vol. 1: 5

13. Rondon, *Índios do Brasil*, vol. 1: 5.

14. Da Cunha and Rondon were close friends, and the latter would for a short time become the guardian of da Cunha's sons after his death. After publishing his book *Os sertões*, da Cunha expressed a wish to join Rondon in his Amazonian expedition. Casement did not have any personal contact with Rondon, but expressed, in a letter to Spicer dated August 11, 1910, his approval of the fact that the Brazilian government had chosen Rondon as "Chief of the Service for the Protection of the Forest Indians," affirming that "Rondon is a very capable man I believe. It is a good thing to see that one of these republics is beginning to realise its duties and responsibilities towards the Indian tribes." Roger Casement, letter to Gerald Spicer, August 11, 1910, PRO FO371/968. The full letter can be found in Casement, *The Amazon Journal*, 71.

15. Much changed in Brazil's indigenist policies throughout the twentieth century, which reflected a relative consensus among both specialists and Indigenous activists (although not always among politicians and the general public) in opposing the SPI's early defense of assimilation.

16. For a lengthy discussion of the relationship between inscription and blindness, see Jacques Derrida's *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins*, trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

17. I refer here to the debates on the embodied dimension of photography, which would challenge a history of photography based on the expansion of the empire of the visible. For more on this topic, see the edited volume by Marcus Banks and Jay Ruby, *Made to Be Seen: Perspectives on the History of Visual Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

18. "Land without history" is the English translation of Euclides da Cunha's posthumous book on the Amazonian region, *À margem da história* (Porto, Port.: Chardron, 1909; reprint, São Paulo: Editora Cultrix, 1975); Euclides da Cunha, *The Amazon: Land without History*, trans. Ronald Sousa (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

19. Rondon, *Índios do Brasil*, vol. 1: 10.

20. Rondon, *Índios do Brasil*, vol. 1: 136.

21. See Diacon, *Stringing Together a Nation*, 129.

22. Christopher Pinney, "Seven Theses on Photography," *Thesis Eleven* 113, no. 1 (2012): 144, https://doi.org/10.1177/0725513612457864.

23. This reading of *Tristes tropiques* emphasizes what the anthropologist Marshall Sahlins called "an attack on the cultural integrity and historical agency of the peripheral peoples." According to Sahlins, this vision of "first contact" as the beginning of the end of non-Western cultures "does in theory just what imperialism attempts in practice." Sahlins, "Goodbye to Tristes Tropes: Ethnog-

raphy in the Context of Modern World History," *Journal of Modern History* 65, no. 1 (March 1993): 7.

24. For a critique of Lévi-Strauss's historical account of the birth of writing, see Derrida's *Of Grammatology*. Derrida characterizes Lévi-Strauss's "phonocentrism" as sentimental ethnocentrism fueled by an oversimplified reading of Rousseau. Instead of viewing writing as a perverse *supplement* to natural speech, Derrida argues for the necessary recognition of writing in speech.

25. Claude Lévi-Strauss and Georges Charbonnier, *Conversations with Claude Lévi-Strauss*, trans. John Weightman and Doreen Weightman (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969).

26. In relation to this idea, some scholars who worked on aesthetics in Lévi-Strauss, such as Boris Wiseman and José Guilherme Merquior, have pointed out that art for Lévi-Strauss resembles language itself, although the latter differs from the former due to its essentially arbitrary character. See Wiseman, *Lévi-Strauss, Anthropology and Aesthetics*; and José Guilherme Merquior, *A estética de Lévi-Strauss* (Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro, 1975).

27. Claude Lévi-Strauss and Didier Eribon, *Conversations with Claude Lévi-Strauss*, trans. Paula Wissington (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 64.

28. Wiseman relates Lévi-Strauss's view of "primitive" art as the "outcome of a positive aesthetic" (*Lévi-Strauss, Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 29) to a broader shift that led to the creation of museums or pavilions in museums dedicated not to ethnography, but to non-Western art: "It was in 1960, at more or less the same time that Lévi-Strauss was writing *The Savage Mind*, that André Malraux decided to convert the Musée Permanent des Colonies, built in Paris for the 1931 Exposition Coloniale, into a Musée National des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, which he divested of its earlier ethnographic function that Malraux saw as the prerogative of the Musée de l'Homme. This was the sign of a deep cultural shift that is still ongoing. The most recent episodes in its story were the opening, at the Louvre, of the Pavillon des Sessions (to date, it has had more than 3.5 million visitors), and in June 2006 of an autonomous museum of non-Western art, the Musée du Quai Branly (it was going to be called 'Musée des Arts Premiers'). Lévi-Strauss's writings on art have doubtless played their part in this 'pantheonisation' of 'primitive' art, as one initiator of the Quai Branly project puts it" (28). This movement, however, had already started in the beginning of the twentieth century, when "culture was being extended to all of the world's functioning societies" (James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988], 235). This can be seen, for example, in early twentieth-century avant-garde artists' appropriation of African artifacts.

29. Claude Lévi-Strauss and Georges Charbonnier, *Entretiens avec Claude Lévi-Strauss* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2010), 81.

30. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Look, Listen, Read*, trans. Brian C. J. Singer (New York: Basic Books, 1997); Claude Lévi-Strauss, "To a Young Painter," in *The View from Afar*, trans. Joachin Neugroschel and Phoebe Hoss (New York: Basic Books, 1985).

31. See José Guilherme Merquior's works for a more detailed analysis of Lévi-Strauss's writings on art. Merquior's *A estética de Lévi-Strauss*, the first

book entirely dedicated to the anthropologist's aesthetic thought, focuses on the passages in which Lévi-Strauss writes directly about art, and situates them in the context of other contemporary aesthetic theories in order to evaluate the contribution of structuralism to aesthetics. Another important book published on this theme, Wiseman's *Lévi-Strauss, Anthropology and Aesthetics*, takes as its starting point the hypothesis that Lévi-Strauss's work as a whole is an aesthetics in the philosophical sense of the term, and not merely an anthropological theory of art. In this he follows Yvan Simonis, who in 1968 identified structuralism as a logic of aesthetic perception. See Simonis, *Claude Lévi-Strauss ou la passion de l'inceste: Introduction au structuralisme* (Paris: Flammarion, 1980). I do not aim to participate in this debate, although all of these scholars have important insights concerning the relationship between Lévi-Strauss's ideas on art and his critique of photographic representation.

32. This is one of the fundamental principles of Lévi-Strauss's aesthetic theory. Its importance has been emphasized by a number of critics, among them Wiseman, Merquior, and Marcel Hénaff, the last of whom remarks: "If we had to define the function of art according to Lévi-Strauss, we could say without hesitation that it is primarily a function of knowledge." Hénaff, *Claude Lévi-Strauss and the Making of Structural Anthropology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 191. Merquior (*A estética de Lévi-Strauss*) relates Lévi-Strauss's thesis regarding the cognitive function of art to the proposition in *The Savage Mind* that art is to be situated "half-way between scientific knowledge and mythical or magical thought" (Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, 17). Merquior is concerned with the system of resemblances and differences that relates art, as a medium of knowledge, to myth and science, and he explores the specificity of art in this domain.

33. Lévi-Strauss, "To a Young Painter," 248.

34. For a comparison between Lévi-Strauss's and other aesthetic theories, see Merquior, *A estética de Lévi-Strauss*. He argues that this emphasis on the "reduced model" puts Lévi-Strauss in the tradition of Lessing's *Laocoon* (23–24).

35. See Wiseman, *Lévi-Strauss, Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 38.

36. What characterizes aesthetic cognition, according to the theory of the "modèle reduit" such as it appears in *The Savage Mind*, is the fact that instead of operating analytically, artworks enable the world to be apprehended as a totality. And it is this totalizing effect that Lévi-Strauss puts forward as the source of aesthetic pleasure. In Lévi-Strauss's words, "even if this is an illusion, the point of the procedure is to create or sustain the illusion, which gratifies the intelligence and gives rise to a sense of pleasure which can already be called aesthetic on these grounds alone" (23–24).

37. Lévi-Strauss, "To a Young Painter," 253. Following these criteria, Lévi-Strauss detracts from the high value attached to figuration since the Renaissance; at the same time, however, he places great value on trompe l'oeil painting and has a marked predilection for an art of minute observation, as one can see from his fascination with the lace ruff painted by Clouet. He is also highly critical of cubism and abstract art even though both of these, on the surface of things, seem closer to the "primitive" art forms he loves and defends than, say, classical representational art. Lévi-Strauss's views on Western art, however, are

conflicting only in appearance. In the case of cubism, for example, he affirms that in moving away from the object seen, the purely sensible dimension, to the conceptual, it does not succeed in fulfilling the collective function of a work of art. In Wiseman's words, "although Cubism aspires to becoming a new aesthetic language, it is condemned to being no more than an idiolect (a private language)." It becomes a mimesis of a second order, a mimesis of a manner of painting; that is, academicism. This is discussed in more detail in Wiseman's *Lévi-Strauss, Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 123–26.

38. Philippe Descola, *The Ecology of Others: Anthropology and the Question of Nature*, trans. Geneviève Godbout and Benjamin P. Luley (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm, 2013), 22.

39. Boon, *From Symbolism to Structuralism*, 28.

40. Edwards, *Raw Histories*, 32.

41. Roslyn Poignant, "Surveying the Field of View: The Making of the RAI Photographic Collection," in *Anthropology and Photography, 1860–1920*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1992), 64.

42. Pinney, "The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography," 78.

43. Banks and Ruby, eds., *Made to Be Seen*, 3.

44. This was surely a complex process that was not homogeneous. Debaene explains how in France, for example, contrary to most countries where "the link that existed at the outset between anthropology and museums weakened during the twentieth century" (*Far Afield*, 29), the exhibition of ethnographic documents in museums played a central role in making the new science. According to Debaene, opposed to both the model of the cabinet of curiosities and the museum of fine arts, the aim of the new anthropological museum in France, which became evident in the reorganization of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, was to present artifacts to the wider public in a meaningful and scientific way, situating the concrete object among charts and explanations designed to instruct the public. As Michel Leiris described it, alongside the specialist's descriptions and charts, photographs, audio recordings, and other "accessible representations" were used to "situate an object in its milieu and its everyday life and . . . lend it a didactic purpose, preventing it from becoming something dead and lost in the glaciers of abstraction" (Leiris, "La jeune ethnographie," *Masses* 3 [1933]: 11). In assessing the artifices traditionally used to "wrap" the object in the museum in a context to which only the ethnographer had access, Debaene compares this to another phenomenon peculiar to France: anthropologists' recourse to literature. In what he called the "second books" written by the fathers of French ethnography, narratives were written to "complement scientific documents and to house evocations of the 'atmosphere' of societies under study" (*Far Afield*, 77). Photographs are also present in some of these narratives, which triggered the imagination of the public and served as a kind of affidavit for the presence of the anthropologist in the field. Anthropology's need to "communicate" with a wider public, or to educate the masses, was a common justification for both the publication of these "literary" works and the reformulation of the museum in France (*Far Afield*, 79). Given the importance placed

on museums and documents, the role of the French field-worker in the interwar period—when Lévi-Strauss made his own trip to Brazil—was twofold. On the one hand, as newspapers themselves publicized, the ethnographer's mission was to bring artifacts "home" to museums. Lévi-Strauss's expedition in Mato Grosso was no exception to this. It was in great part justified by the collecting of artifacts from the Indigenous populations to be shared between the recently founded Musée de l'Homme and Brazilian institutions. On the other hand, a different kind of definition of the fieldwork experience, more in tune with what was happening in British-American anthropology, was found in works by Leiris, Alfred Métraux, and especially Marcel Mauss, who emphasized the importance of extended exposure of the ethnographer to his subjects of study.

45. Debaene, *Far Afield*, 36.

46. Poignant, "Surveying the Field of View," 65.

47. Pinney affirms that this idea was first suggested by David Tomas in a personal communication. Pinney, "The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography," 81–82.

48. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Saudades do Brasil: A Photographic Memoir*, trans. Sylvia Modelski (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), 22.

49. It is remarkable that neither Lévi-Strauss's texts nor his use of photography allude to the avant-garde photographic experiments occurring at the time of his travels to Brazil, and which questioned the definition of photography as an act of recording and highlighted the capacity of photographs to reveal, as Benjamin wrote in "Little History of Photography," new ways of seeing. Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin, trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter (Boston: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 286.

Lévi-Strauss's lack of recognition of the contribution of contemporary avant-garde artists is not restricted to photography. In fact, although he befriended André Breton and contributed to avant-garde magazines, he rarely cites the surrealists. As Patrick Wilcken remarks, in a response to commentaries made by Roger Callois, Lévi-Strauss denied the affiliation, saying that "he had never really collaborated with them; he knew Breton, but their ideas were 'completely different'" (Wilcken, *Claude Lévi-Strauss: The Poet in the Laboratory* [New York: Penguin, 2010], 200–201). Moreover, Lévi-Strauss's references in his writings are mostly classical: he recognizes himself in Rousseau and Montaigne, for instance. About Lévi-Strauss's contradictory affinities and his negation of modernist thought and aesthetics, see also Vincent Debaene's préface to *Oeuvres* by Claude Lévi-Strauss, ed. Vincent Debaene, Frédéric Keck, Marie Mauzé, and Martin Rueff (Paris: Gallimard, 2008), xxxii–xxxiii.

50. The book's first sentence has been widely criticized for being a purely rhetorical gesture in a narrative that reproduces the most common conventions of travel writing and consequently does not escape what it seeks to denounce. See Clifford Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988), 25–48.

51. Debaene, *Far Afield*, 414.

52. In this respect, Debaene compares Lévi-Strauss's denial of narrating "insipid events" to Paul Valéry's critique of writing as a form of recording or note-taking (*Far Afield*, 201).

53. In an interesting declaration to the French newspaper *Libération* on September 1, 1988, Luiz de Castro Faria criticized Lévi-Strauss for his non-collaborative behavior during the trip. He also emphasized that while Dina Lévi-Strauss was a true ethnographer who made valuable findings and observations, her husband was more of a philosopher who did not seem very comfortable in the field. Castro Faria's notes and photographs were published in *Um outro olhar: Diário de expedição à Serra do Norte* (Rio de Janeiro: Ouro sobre Azul Editora, 2001).

54. Maurice Blanchot, "Man at Point Zero," in *Friendship* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 78.

55. Carol Jacobs, *Telling Time: Lévi-Strauss, Ford, Lessing, Benjamin, de Man, Wordsworth, Rilke* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 10.

56. In an interview with Didier Eribon, Lévi-Strauss emphasizes again the question of time. Asked what led him to write *Tristes tropiques*, he says that, although when invited by Jean Malaurie to contribute to the series *Terre humaine* he had not desired to write about his travels, as "time went on" he had gained a "certain distance" and "it was no longer a matter of transcribing a journal of [his] expedition": "I had to rethink my old adventures" (Lévi-Strauss and Eribon, *Conversations*, 58).

57. Marcel Proust, *Swann's Way*, trans. Lydia Davis (New York: Penguin, 2004), 6.

58. In the folder called "Tristes Tropiques" in Lévi-Strauss's archive (in the Bibliothèque Nationale), one can find most of the documents used by him in the making of the book. Among them, there are pages detached from his field notebooks that illustrate the process of unmaking the chronological writing of the field book and rearranging it in another form. For a detailed description of the manuscripts used in *Tristes tropiques*, see Debaene's "Notices et notes: Tristes Tropiques," in Lévi-Strauss's *Oeuvres*, 1690–98.

59. Quoted in Wilcken, *The Poet in the Laboratory*, 71.

60. One example is Benjamin's concept of the optical unconscious, also based on Freud's notion of the unconscious, in "Little History of Photography," 286.

61. Christopher Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011), 105.

62. Michel de Certeau, *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 69.

63. Such a connection between image, otherness, and atemporality has been established frequently. In *Time and the Other*, one of the seminal books of historical critique of anthropology that came out in the 1980s, Johannes Fabian, for example, argues that the subordination of anthropology to the visual—which he identifies with both spatial distance and objectivism—is at the root of the "allochronism" of anthropology. Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). On the enduring anxiety toward the visual in twentieth-century French critical

theory, see Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

64. In the first edition of *Tristes tropiques*, the photographs were all published together at the end of the book, on glossy paper that differs from the paper used in the rest of the book. However, the organization of the photographs into four parts named exactly like the central chapters of the book, "Caduveo," "Bororo," "Nambikwara," and "Tupi-Kawahib," suggests that they should be read as part of these specific chapters.

65. Castro Faria, *Um outro olhar*, 184.

66. Jacobs, *Telling Time*, 42.

67. Lévi-Strauss, *Oeuvres*, 1749n3.

68. Debaene, *Far Afield*, 204.

69. Regarding the importance of his encounter with the Kadiwéu in Lévi-Strauss's philosophical inquiry into the provenance of the mathematical structures that underpin kinship exchange (in societies that often do not possess a formalized mathematics), see Imbert, "On Anthropological Knowledge."

70. Before publishing *Tristes tropiques*, Lévi-Strauss had made two other attempts at interpreting the Kadiwéu art form which he captured in his photographs. In his essay "Indian Cosmetics" (1942), published in the first number of the surrealist magazine *VVV*, with the editorial assistance of André Breton and a cover by Max Ernst, Lévi-Strauss published a photograph of a boy four or five years old and two drawings of facial designs made by Kadiwéu women on sheets of paper (Lévi-Strauss, "Indian Cosmetics," trans. P. Blanc, *VVV* 1 [1942]). In his 1944 article "Split Representation in the Art of Asia and America," later published as a chapter in *Structural Anthropology*, he reproduced two photographic portraits of Kadiwéu women with painted faces, a drawing made by the Italian painter and ethnologist Guido Boggiani in 1892, and two drawings from his own collection, both made by Kadiwéu women—a facial design reproduced on a piece of paper, and a drawing representing a figure with a painted face. Lévi-Strauss's article also reproduces drawings from other parts of the world in order to illustrate his comparative analysis of the highly stylized form of art known as "split representation." Lévi-Strauss's proposal is that in Kadiwéu facial painting, it is the human face itself that is split and reassembled as two profiles by the designs painted onto it. Lévi-Strauss, "Split Representation in the Art of Asia and America," in *Structural Anthropology*, trans. Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf (New York: Basic Books, 1963).

71. In this sense, it is noteworthy that Lévi-Strauss remarks that the Kadiwéu had previously tattooed the designs, and he interpreted the fact that they ceased to do so as a sign of the decline of Kadiwéu society. Luciana Martins, however, argues that this is a contested fact. She notes that Boggiani himself had come to a different conclusion after his analysis of mummies, and insisted that the ornaments on the mummies' skins were transient marks instead of permanent ones. Martins, "'Resemblances to Archaeological Finds': Guido Boggiani, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Caduveo Body Painting," *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 26, no. 2 (2017): 22.

72. Boris Wiseman, "Lévi-Strauss, Caduveo Body Painting, and the Readymade: Thinking Borderlines," *Insights* 1, no. 1 (2008).

73. The chapter begins with an affirmation that "the customs of a community, taken as a whole, always have a particular style and are reducible to systems" and that "the number of such systems is not unlimited and that—in their games, dreams or wild imaginings—human societies, like individuals, never create absolutely, but merely choose certain combinations from an ideal repertoire that it should be possible to define" (Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, 179).

74. Martins, "Resemblances to Archeological Finds."

75. There are very few works that examine Lévi-Strauss's photographs; I refer directly to most of these in the present chapter. Jay Prosser's Barthesian *Light in the Dark Room* is one of the few to situate the photographs in the epistemological debate. In the chapter dedicated to the anthropologist, Prosser argues that in *Tristes tropiques* the photographs are "over-codified," published side-by-side with graphs and drawings and other encoded forms, in order to be suitable for a structuralist work. Prosser, *Light in the Dark Room: Photography and Loss* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 58–65.

76. Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 5.

77. See Alejandra Reyero, "Imagen, objeto y arte: La fotografía de Guido Boggiani," *Iconos: Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 42 (2012).

78. Claude Lévi-Strauss, foreword to *Enciclopédia Bororo*, by César Albisetti and Ângelo Jayme Venturelli, vol. 3, part 1, "Textos dos cantos de caça e pesca" (Campo Grande: Museu Regional Dom Bosco, 1976), n.p.

79. Wilcken, *The Poet in the Laboratory*, 71.

80. Fabian, *Time and the Other*.

81. Geertz, *Works and Lives*, 25–48.

82. Martins, *Photography and Documentary Film in the Making of Modern Brazil*, 170.

83. Claude Lévi-Strauss, "Contribution à l'étude de l'organisation sociale des Indiens Bororo," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 28, no. 2 (1936).

84. Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, "Lévi-Strauss: Razão e sensibilidade," *Revista de Antropologia* 42, no. 1–2 (1999), http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0034–77011999000100005.

85. Quoted in Wilcken, *The Poet in the Laboratory*, 72.

86. For a critique of the sentimental rhetoric used by Lévi-Strauss and other anthropologists to mourn the extinction of Indigenous cultures, see Marshal Sahlins, "Ethnographic Experience and Sentimental Pessimism: Why Culture Is Not a Disappearing Object," in *Biographies of Scientific Objects*, ed. Lorraine Daston (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). See also James Clifford and George E. Marcus, *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); and Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992) for a discussion of the anti-conquest and the sentimental traveler as one of the tropes in travel literature.

87. Marcelo Fiorini suggests that Lévi-Strauss was influenced by Robert Lowie's *Primitive Society* (1920), which explored the specific cultural styles of diverse societies, as well as Marcel Mauss's concept of body techniques. Fiorini, "Lévi-Strauss' Photographs: An Anthropology of the Sensible Body," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 94, no. 2 (2008), https://doi.org/10.4000/jsa.10555.

88. Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993), xiii.

89. According to Matthieu Lévi-Strauss (personal communication), he was responsible for making the first selection of photographs, but consulted with his father regarding the final decisions.

90. Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology*, 102–4.

91. Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology*, 104.

CHAPTER 4

1. Tsing, *Friction*.

2. Mário de Andrade, *O turista aprendiz*, ed. Telê Ancona Lopez and Tatiana Longo Figueiredo (Brasilia: IPHAN, 2015), 50. All references, unless otherwise stated, are to the 2015 edition.

3. Telê Ancona Lopez, "O turista aprendiz na Amazônia: A invenção no texto e na imagem," *Anais do Museu Paulista: História e Cultura Material* 13, no. 2 (July–December 2005): 140; André Botelho, "A viagem de Mário de Andrade à Amazônia: Entre raízes e rotas," *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros* 57 (2013): 67.

4. Esther Gabara, *Errant Modernism: The Ethos of Photography in Mexico and Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Martins, *Photography and Documentary Film in the Making of Modern Brazil*.

5. Although not comparing Mário de Andrade directly to Lévi-Strauss, some scholars have inserted Andrade in a similar tradition of critical ethnographic writing. André Botelho, for example, affirms that Andrade questions what Clifford Geertz called the "being there" of ethnographic writing. The approximation between Lévi-Strauss and Andrade also appears in Botelho's choice to begin his article about *O turista aprendiz* with an epigraph from *Tristes tropiques* (Botelho, "A viagem de Mário de Andrade à Amazônia," 17).

6. Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind*, 126

7. For Andrade, joy has the painful and religious character that Derrida refers to in his reading of Augustine and Nietzsche. In his letters to the young poet Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Mário de Andrade repeatedly "preaches" (to use his word) about this aesthetic and the politics of joy, which he defines as "to live with religiosity." Mário de Andrade, *A lição do amigo: Cartas de Mário de Andrade a Carlos Drummond de Andrade, anotadas pelo destinatário* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2015), 20, 47.

8. Gabara, *Errant Modernism*, 57–59; Douglas Canjani, "Mário de Andrade fotógrafo-viajante e a linguagem modernista," *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros* 57 (2013): 62; André Keiji Kunigami, "Film and Malaria: Mário de Andrade and the Politics of Just Looking," *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 29, no. 3 (2020): 380.

9. I thank Hérica Valladares for opening my eyes to the double meaning of "Abrolhos" (personal communication).

10. For discussions of Mário de Andrade's engagement with photographic modernism, see Canjani, "Mário de Andrade fotógrafo-viajante"; Lopez, "O turista aprendiz na Amazônia"; and Gabara, *Errant Modernism*.

11. Lopez, "O turista aprendiz na Amazônia," 139.

12. It can be seen, for example, in the way Andrade writes different prefaces to his works in progress, almost as if they were different captions for photographs, which he ends up discarding in the final version. In her preface for Andrade's novel *Café* (*Coffee*), another work published posthumously, Tatiana Longo Figueiredo analyzes *Café*'s archive from the point of view of genetic criticism in order to discuss the author's multiple rewritings of his texts. Tatiana Longo Figueiredo, "Pausa para café," in *Café* by Mário de Andrade, ed. Tatiana Longo Figueiredo (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2015), 7–41.

13. I am referring here to Julio Ramos's concept of uneven modernities. See his *Divergent Modernities: Culture and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, trans. John D. Blanco (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).

14. Botelho, "A viagem de Mário de Andrade à Amazônia," 21

15. Martins, *Photography and Documentary Film in the Making of Modern Brazil*, 133

16. Gabara, *Errant Modernism*, 38.

17. Kunigami, "Film and Malaria."

18. Andrade, *O turista aprendiz*, 48.

19. Mário de Andrade, "O movimento modernista," in *Aspectos da literatura Brasileira* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editôra, 1974).

20. The modernist movement was, in large part, embraced and sponsored by the coffee aristocracy of São Paulo.

21. The term "caboclo" was commonly used in early twentieth-century Brazil to designate mixed Indigenous and European ancestry, or a culturally assimilated or detribalized person.

22. *New York Herald*, "Off for Brazil," January 3, 1878, 10.

23. One of the most thorough accounts of the failure of the first attempt to build the Madeira-Mamoré Railway is Neville B. Craig's *Recollections of an Ill-Fated Expedition to the Headwaters of the Madeira River in Brazil* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1907).

24. Francisco Foot-Hardman, *Trem-fantasma: A ferrovia Madeira-Mamoré e a modernidade na selva*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Companhia das Letras, 2005), 25.

25. Early accounts written by employees or former employees of the company include P. H. Ashmead's articles for the *Pan American Union Bulletin* (1911) and for the *Railway Age Gazette* (1911); John J. Bayliss's article for the *Stone and Webster Journal* (1928); and Frank Kravigny's memoir *The Jungle Route* (New York: O. Tremaine, 1940). Although not credited, some of Merrill's photographs also appeared in a long article by the Brazilian writer Julio Nogueira for the *Jornal do Comercio* (January 13, 1913), as well as in Henry Pearson's *The Rubber Country of the Amazon* (New York: India Rubber World, 1911). Most of Dana Merrill's photographs were, however, kept by private parties related to Merrill himself and to the railway, and remained relatively unknown to scholars and the larger public until recently. In the past few decades, Merrill's photographs of the Madeira-Mamoré Railway have been rediscovered and re-characterized as providing evidence not of progress and the triumph of modernity, but of labor exploitation and environmental destruction. Manoel Rodrigues Ferreira's *A fer-*

rovia do diabo (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1960), a book based on extensive archival work and interviews that became the best-known critical historical account of the working conditions during the construction of the Madeira-Mamoré line in Brazil, is known for having rediscovered Merrill's photographs. The best-known scholarly works on the Madeira-Mamoré line to include an analysis of Merrill's photographs, Foot-Hardman's *Trem-fantasma* and journalists Gary and Rose Neeleman's *Tracks of the Amazon: The Day-to-Day Life of the Workers on the Madeira-Mamore Railroad* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2014), which published a large selection of Merrill's prints, were both inspired by Merrill's photographs, thus adding to a kind of corpus of histories that recognize these photos as testimonies of the ruinous heroism of technological modernity. In addition, more formal analysis of the photographs appear in both Pedro Ribeiro's "Dana Merrill: Other Images from the Chronicler of the Jungle," an afterword to Neeleman and Neeleman's *Tracks in the Amazon*; and in Pedro Ribeiro and Dana Merrill's *Estrada de Ferro Madeira-Mamoré* (São Paulo: Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 1993); as well as in Mariana von Hartenthal's "Corporate Photography Goes to the Forest," *Artelogie: Recherche sur les Arts, le Patrimoine, et la Littérature de l'Amérique Latine* 12 (September 5, 2018), https://doi.org/10.4000/artelogie.2181, which situates Merrill's photographs in the context of corporate photography, highlighting their exceptionality.

26. Two of these albums can presently be consulted at the New York Public Library and at the National Library in Rio de Janeiro. Some loose copies of Merrill's photographs can also be found at the Museu da Imagem e do Som, and the Belisario Pena's archive at Fundação Oswaldo Cruz, Casa de Oswaldo Cruz.

27. Amanda Smith's analysis of the relationship between the way in which the railway organizes the gaze toward a vanishing point and the teleological time of modernity inspired this reading. Smith, *Mapping the Amazon: Literary Geography after the Rubber Boom* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2021), 171–72. See also W. J. T. Mitchell's *Landscape and Power* for a discussion of landscape and imperial perspective.

28. For a lengthier discussion of Merrill's photographic equipment, see Pedro Ribeiro's essay on the topic in *Estrada de Ferro Madeira-Mamoré* and his "Dana Merrill," in Neeleman and Neeleman's *Tracks in the Amazon*.

29. In a diary entry on May 11, 1927, Andrade had already pointed out the importance of hats in the making of a subject's image, by describing how changing his urban hat for a traveler's cap helped him feel more at ease (*O turista aprendiz*, 55). This theme is further developed in his *crônica* "Guanabara, 3 de dezembro, 19 horas," published in the *Diário Nacional* on December 21, 1928: "It is extraordinary how conventions gesticulate for us. And others still say that the suit does not make the man . . . It was enough to put the cap on my head, I looked in the mirror and there was I traveling. I was at ease" (reproduced in *O turista aprendiz*, 257). Hats also helped Andrade compose different characters for his posed portraits.

30. Andrade mentions his purchase of the hat, and tell us its price, in his June 22 diary entry (*O turista aprendiz*, 123).

31. Mário de Andrade, "Filmes de guerra," in *No cinema*, ed. Paulo José da Silva Cunha (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2010), 47–50.

32. Kunigami, "Film and Malaria," 387–88.

33. See Flora Süssekind, *Cinematograph of Words: Literature, Technique, and Modernization in Brazil* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), for a study of the impact of cinema technology on literary form in Brazil.

34. With regard to the atrocities committed against Huitoto communities during the rubber boom, see chapter 2.

35. Tsing, *Friction*, 3.

36. Immediately before departing from São Paulo to the Amazon, Andrade had finished the first draft of what would become his most famous work, the modernist novel *Macunaíma: Um herói sem nenhum caráter* (1928), ed. Telê Porto Ancona Lopez (Paris: UNESCO; Madrid: ALLCA XX, 1996). Macunaíma, the hero of the book, whose name he borrowed from the German ethnologist Theodor Koch-Grunberg's account of an Indigenous trickster figure named Maku/naima, constantly repeats this refrain: "Ai! . . . Que preguiça!" which translates roughly as "Oh! I feel so lazy."

37. Mário de Andrade, "Maleita I," in *O turista aprendiz*, 418. The two *crônicas*, "Maleita I" and "Maleita II," are published as part of the "Dossiê" section of the Lopez and Figueiredo edition of *O turista aprendiz*, which includes additional material related to Andrade's Amazon trip (418–22).

38. André Botelho and Nísia Trindade Lima, "Malarial Philosophy: The Modernista Amazonia of Mário de Andrade," in *Intimate Frontiers: A Literary Geography of the Amazon*, ed. Felipe Martínez-Pinzón and Javier Uriarte (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press), 2019; Nísia Trindade Lima and André Botelho, "Malária como doença e perspectiva cultural nas viagens de Carlos Chagas e Mário de Andrade à Amazônia," *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos* 20, no. 3 (2013).

39. See Jaime Larry Benchimol and André Felipe Cândido da Silva, "Ferrovias, doenças e medicina tropical no Brasil da Primeira República," *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos* 15, no. 3 (2008), for a study of the relationships between infrastructure projects, the Brazilian Republic's drive toward modernization, malaria outbreaks, and the institutionalization of the field of tropical medicine.

40. Nancy Leys Stepan, "The Only Serious Terror in These Regions: Malaria Control in the Brazilian Amazon," in *Disease in the History of Modern Latin America: From Malaria to AIDS*, ed. Diego Armus (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 27.

41. See Nancy Leys Stepan, *Eradication: Ridding the World of Diseases Forever?* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), for a discussion of the microbiological revolution that took place at the end of the nineteenth century and its broad implications for the imperialist prospects of capitalist expansion in Latin America.

42. Carl Lovelace, "Academia Nacional de Medicina (Sessão em 16 de Agosto de 1912): Expediente," *O Brazil-Medico: Revista Semanal de Medicina e Cirurgia* 32 (August 1912): 331.

43. Oswaldo Gonçalves Cruz, *Madeira-Mamoré Railway Company: Considerações geraes sobre as condições sanitarias do Rio Madeira* (Rio de Janeiro: Papelaria Americana, 1910), 45.

44. Nisia Trindade Lima and Gilberto Hochman, “Condenado pela raça, absolvido pela medicina: O Brasil descoberto pelo movimento sanitarista da primeira república,” in *Raça, ciência e sociedade*, ed. Marcos Chor Maio and Ricardo Ventura Santos (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fiocruz, 1996); and Nisia Trindade Lima and Gilberto Hochman, “‘Pouca saúde e muita saúva’: Sanitarismo, interpretações do país e ciências sociais,” in *Cuidar, controlar, curar: Ensaios históricos sobre saúde e doença na América Latina e Caribe*, ed. Diego Armus and Gilberto Hochman (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fiocruz, 2004).

45. The relationship between power, race, and tropical medicine has been treated by historians in both national and colonial contexts. In *Cidade febril: Cortiços e epidemias na corte imperial* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2017), the historian Sidney Chalhoub shows how, in the name of public health, authorities demolished buildings and communities that housed the poor and racialized classes, arguing that these were especially conductive of epidemics. In *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), Warwick Anderson examines the construction of the Filipino people as a contaminated race, as “microbial insurrectos” (2), a view which drove US public health efforts to reform Filipinos’ behavior.

46. Ferreira da Silva, *Toward a Global Idea of Race*.

47. Cruz, *Considerações geraes sobre as condições sanitarias do Rio Madeira*, 56.

48. For a lengthier study of the relationship between interspecies contact and the racialization of the malarial body in medical and news reports, see my forthcoming article “‘The Flying Ability of the Mosquito Made the Situation Difficult to Cope with’: Contamination, Containment, and the Biopolitics of the Madeira-Mamoré Railway,” *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* (forthcoming).

49. Cruz, *Considerações geraes sobre as condições sanitarias do Rio Madeira*, 53.

50. Cruz, *Considerações geraes sobre as condições sanitarias do Rio Madeira*, 45.

51. I am inspired here by Neel Ahuja’s use of queer and feminist theory in his study of disease control and the fear of multi-species entanglements: Ahuja, *Bioinsecurities: Disease Interventions, Empire, and the Government of Species* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

52. Anne-Lise François, *Open Secrets: The Literature of Uncounted Experience* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), xvi.

53. Mário de Andrade, “Caras,” in *No cinema*, ed. Paulo José da Silva Cunha (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2010). I thank Keiji Kunigami for this reference.

54. Mário de Andrade, “O homem que se achou” (fotos de Jorge de Castro),” in *Será o Benedito!* (São Paulo: EDUC, 1996), 77.

55. Andrade, “O homem que se achou,” 79–80.

56. Mário de Andrade, “Do desenho,” in *Aspectos das artes plásticas no Brasil* (São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 1965).

57. Mário de Andrade, “Fantasias de um poeta,” in *Será o Benedito!* 80.

58. On this point, I contend that Andrade’s photographic practice and thought must be distinguished from his thoughts on film. Although both media

are clearly interconnected—as they are to drawing and writing—the way in which photography registers time is different from film's mode of doing so. Not because photography is on the side of fixity, but because time and the unlimited field of the photograph are inscribed on immobile material. For a differing perspective see Kunigami, "Film and Malaria."

59. Andrade, "Fantasias de um poeta," 81.

60. Lima and Botelho, "Malária como doença," 756.

61. Antônio Cândido, "Literatura e cultura de 1900 a 1945," in *Literatura e sociedade* (Rio de Janeiro: Ouro sobre Azul, 2006), 129

62. Mário de Andrade and Manuel Bandeira, *Correspondência*, ed. Marco Antônio de Moraes (São Paulo: EDUSP, 2000), 350.

63. For detailed descriptions of the archives of *O turista apendiz* at the IEB—the Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros at the University of São Paulo—see Telê Porto Ancona Lopez's presentation for the first edition of *O turista arendiz* (São Paulo: Livraria Duas Cidades, 1976); and Telê Ancona Lopez and Tatiana Longo Figueiredo, "Por esse mundo de páginas," in *O turista aprendiz*, ed. Telê Ancona Lopez and Tatiana Longo Figueiredo (Brasilia: IPHAN, 2015).

64. Manuel Bandeira had said that the writing on *vitórias-régias* was not suitable for a poem, and Andrade followed his friend's suggestion, turning it into prose and adding it to the diary. See Andrade and Bandeira, *Correspondência*, 351–56.

65. Joaquim de Almeida Leite Moraes's travel account is titled *Apontamentos de viagem de São Paulo à capital de Goiás, desta à do Pará, pelos rios Araguaia e Tocantins e do Pará à Corte: Considerações administrativas e políticas*, and was published in 1883 by Tipografia Gazeta do Povo.

66. Telê Porto Ancona Lopez, "Um projeto de livro," in *O turista aprendiz* by Mário de Andrade, ed. Telê Porto Ancona Lopez (São Paulo: Livraria Duas Cidades, 1976), 33.

67. The remaining 12 clippings had been placed in dossiers related to the publication of Andrade's *Obras completas*.

68. Andrade planned to, but never did, compile the ethnographic materials he had collected in the Northeast into a work called *Na pancada do ganzá*.

69. There are 529 photographs taken in 1927, and 373 in 1928.

70. Lopez and Figueiredo, "Por esse mundo de páginas," 40.

71. For the 1976 edition of *O turista aprendiz*, editor Telê Porto Ancona Lopez published the materials from the 1928 trip in the order in which they were found in the green folder: first, the articles from *O Diário Nacional*, then the diary notes. In the most recent edition of *O turista aprendiz*, published in 2015, Telê Ancona Lopez and Tatiana Longo Figueiredo did the reverse. They also included all of the 70 *crônicas* published in *O Diário Nacional*, not only the 58 clippings found in the green folder. By publishing the complete series, the editors considered this as a work in itself, published in the form of a newspaper series, and not as a possible continuation of the manuscript of *O turista aprendiz*.

72. In fact, while Lopez's essays to the 1976 edition repeatedly refer to the "two ethnographic voyages," this phrase is dropped from the 2015 edition. Telê Porto Ancona Lopez, "'Viagens etnográficas' de Mário de Andrade,'" in *O tur-*

ista aprendiz by Mário de Andrade, ed. Telê Porto Ancona Lopez (São Paulo: Livraria Duas Cidades, 1976), 21, 25.

73. Lopez, "Viagens etnográficas," 15.

74. The chronological view of the *movimento modernista* that defines a shift from a universalizing impulse in 1922 to a search for a nationalizing art form in 1924, thematized by Eduardo Jardim, can be questioned, since some artists, such as Andrade himself, had expressed prior to 1922 an interest in folk artistic expressions. However, it is undeniable that 1924 was marked by open efforts by *modernistas* to ground their work in the national and colonial experience of Brazil. The most famous example was Oswald de Andrade's "Manifesto da poesia pau-Brasil" ("Manifesto of Brazilwood Poetry"), published in the newspaper *Correio da Manhã* on March 18, 1924. Eduardo Jardim, "O modernismo revisitado," *Estudos Históricos* 1, no. 2 (1988).

75. Fernando Rosenberg, *The Avant-Garde and Geopolitics in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), 1.

76. For a study of Andrade's engagement with ethnography, see Telê Porto Ancona Lopez, *Mário de Andrade: Ramais e caminhos* (São Paulo: Livraria Duas Cidades, 1972).

77. The so-called 1930 Revolution was a coup d'état that ended the First Republic's (1889–1930) oligarchic regime and brought Getúlio Vargas, who had lost the election a year earlier, into power. The regime change was celebrated by Andrade, who had close ties with the Partido Democrático, which supported Vargas in the 1930 elections. In the first months following the 1930 Revolution, the provisional government undertook an educational reform and invited Andrade, along with professor Sá Pereira and composer Luciano Gallet, to come up with a plan to restructure the Instituto Nacional de Música (National Music Institute), which wasn't carried out in the end. In 1932, dissatisfied with federal intervention in the state of São Paulo and with the new government's delay in implementing promised constitutional reform and holding new elections, Andrade supported the São Paulo insurrection called the Constitutional Revolution. After re-democratization in 1934, a new optimism and various projects for reconstruction took shape in São Paulo, incorporating intellectuals who had been part of the Partido Democrático. In this context, Andrade cofounded and became the first director of São Paulo's Department of Culture, within which he developed an unprecedented project for the democratization of Brazil's culture. The first comprehensive study of the participation of intellectuals and artists in the state apparatus after the 1930 Revolution was Sergio Miceli's 1979 *Intelectuais e classe dirigente no Brasil: 1920–1945* (São Paulo: Difel, 1979), which adopted a sociological approach inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's notion of an "economy of symbolic exchanges." Later studies in literature and cultural history have examined the close relationship between the Vargas regime, its nationalist and modernizing rhetoric, and the absorption not only of the *modernistas* but also of modernist language and aesthetics. See Daryle Williams, *Culture Wars: The First Vargas Regime, 1930–1945* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001); Silviano Santiago, "O intelectual modernista revisitado," in *Nas malhas da letra: Ensaios* (Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 2002); Randal Johnson,

"The Dynamics of the Brazilian Literary Field, 1930–1945," in "Getúlio Vargas and His Legacy," ed. Joel Wolfe, special issue, *Luso-Brazilian Review* 31, no. 2 (Winter 1994); Mauricio Lissovsky and Paulo Sérgio Moraes de Sá, "O novo em construção: O edifício-sede do Ministério da Educação e Saúde e a disputa do espaço arquiteturável nos anos 1930," in *Capanema: O ministro e o seu ministério*, ed. Angela de Castro Gomes (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2000); and Mônica Pimenta Velloso, *Os intelectuais e a política no Estado Novo* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1987).

78. For a detailed historical account of Andrade's participation in the country's political life and, more specifically, his work at the Department of Culture in São Paulo, see Mário de Andrade, *Me esqueci completamente de mim, sou um departamento de cultura*, ed. Carlos Augusto Calil and Flávio Rodrigo Penteado (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial Governo do Estado de São Paulo, 2015); and Helena Bomeny, *Um poeta na política: Mário de Andrade, paixão e compromisso* (Rio de Janeiro: Casa da Palavra, 2012). For a more focused approach to the relationship between Andrade's government post, his photographic production, and his interest in ethnography, see Martins, *Photography and Documentary Film in the Making of Brazil*. In that book Martins also examines Andrade's close work with Dina Lévi-Strauss.

79. Andrade also expected to collect some data of ethnographic interest, even though he does not reveal a research plan as organized as the one he had planned for the Northeast. It is also worth noting that in 1927 Andrade had just finished the first draft of his novel *Macunaíma*, published in 1928, which was largely based on the Indigenous narratives that Theodor Koch-Grunberg had reproduced in *Vom Roraima zum Orinoco*. While *Macunaíma* presents an extensive incorporation of ethnographic materials, fictionalized and reelaborated by Andrade, and collected mostly from his "armchair," *O turista aprendiz* contains multiple passages in which what is fictionalized is the ethnographic work and the ethnographic encounter itself.

80. Very few researchers have examined the peculiarity of Andrade's Amazonian trip or differentiated it from the later ethnographic voyage. Although not addressing the question directly, Gilda de Mello e Souza, "O colecionador e a coleção," in *A ideia e o figurado* (São Paulo: Livraria Duas Cidades; Editora 34, 2005), makes the insightful suggestion that Andrade's ethnographic enterprise—"not as tourist apprentice, following conveniently pre-arranged routes, but as traveler" (43)—had the effect of providing him with a more stable and calm terrain than his constant reflections on himself. In this essayistic, quasi-literary text, Souza does not make clear whether she is differentiating the Amazonian trip from the other trip, but her insights suggest an interesting route for thinking about the more complex feelings Andrade expresses when, instead of dedicating himself to collecting materials about folk dance and music, he himself becomes the center of the experience being narrated.

81. Andrade defined the 1920s as a time of unbridled pleasure, citing the "salons, festivals, notorious balls, group weeks spent at opulent farms, Easter Week in the old towns of Minas, travels through the Amazonas, through the Northeast, arrivals at Bahia, constant visits to the paulista past, Sorocaba, Parnaíba, Itu" (Andrade, "O movimento modernista," 241).

82. Alfredo Bosi, *História concisa da literatura brasileira* (São Paulo: Editôra Cultrix, 1970), 430.

83. Eduardo Jardim, *Eu sou trezentos: Mário de Andrade vida e obra* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições de Janeiro, 2015), 422–23.

84. Paulo Duarte, *Mário de Andrade por ele mesmo* (São Paulo: Editora HUCITEC, 1985), 228.

85. Pedro Fragelli argues that Andrade was entangled in a series of paradoxes stemming from his antinomic approach to aesthetic and politics. Fragelli, "Engajamento e sacrifício: O pensamento estético de Mário de Andrade," *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros* 57 (2013).

86. Eduardo Jardim, *Limites do moderno: Pensamento estético de Mário de Andrade* (Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará, 1999).

87. Fragelli, "Engajamento e sacrifício."

88. For different views on the scarce photographic production among the *modernistas*, see Paulo Herkenhoff, "Fotografia: O automático e longo processo da modernidade," in *Sete ensaios sobre modernismo* (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, Instituto Nacional de Artes Plásticas, 1983); and Rubens Fernandes Junior, "Modernity and Photography in Brazil," in *De la antropofagia a Brasília: Brasil 1920–1950*, ed. Maria Casanova and M. Victoria Menor (Valencia: IVAM Centre Julio González, 2000).

EPILOGUE

1. For a few examples of recent volumes in the fields of anthropology and history that develop this debate, see Erica Bornstein and Peter Redfield, eds., *Forces of Compassion: Humanitarianism between Ethics and Politics* (Santa Fe, NM: SAR, 2011); Richard Ashby Wilson and Richard D. Brown, eds., *Humanitarianism and Suffering: The Mobilization of Empathy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); and Didier Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

2. Some prominent examples of these initiatives, which enabled the use of media as a dimension of cultural activism in identity-based social movements, are Vídeo nas Aldeias in Brazil and the Centro de Formación y Realización Cinematográfica–Coordinadora Audiovisual Indígena Originaria de Bolivia (CEFREC-CAIB) in Bolivia. On Indigenous media-makers, see Faye Ginsburg, "Indigenous Media: Faustian Contract or Global Village?" in *Rereading Cultural Anthropology*, ed. George E. Marcus (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992).

3. Tsing, *Friction*, 5.

4. For sources on Casement's queerness, see note 15 in chapter 2. There are fewer studies on Mário de Andrade's queer sexuality. The most direct examination of the theme appears in Moacir Werneck de Castro, *Mário de Andrade: Exílio no Rio* (Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 1989). For an excellent discussion on the relationship between photography, affect, and queerness see Elspeth H. Brown and Thy Phu, *Feeling Photography* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

5. Stoler, *Imperial Debris*; Tsing, *Friction*; Gordillo, *Rubble*.

6. Michael Greshko, "Fire Devastates Brazil's Oldest Science Museum," *National Geographic*, September 6, 2018, https://www.nationalgeographic.com/science/2018/09/news-museu-nacional-fire-rio-de-janeiro-natural-history/.

7. Anthropologists such as Christopher Pinney, Elizabeth Edwards, and others have also alluded to photography's "indexicality," the random inclusiveness (and hence visual excess) of photographic inscription, its fixity of appearance and yet its instability of meaning, in order to describe photographs as contested sites of encounter and cultural exchange. Ariella Azoulay, Deborah Poole, and Kevin Coleman, for example, have shown that photography is a way of seeing that is never fully controlled by the operator of the camera, nor dictated by the ruling power.

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Index

Abreu, Regina, 62, 66
Aguiar e Silva, Antônio Manuel, 47–48
Ahuja, Neel, 277n51
Albus, Anita, 140, 141
Allison, David, 187
All Quiet on the Western Front (Milestone), 205
Almeida, Cícero Antônio F. de, 48, 60
Amaral, Tarsila do, 198, 227
Amaral Pinto, Dulce do, 198, 228
Amarante, Emanuel Silvestre do, 134
Amazon rainforest fires, 233–34, 237
Andermann, Jens, 7, 48, 50, 70, 252n50
Andrade, Mário de, 3–4, 5, 7, 8, 21, 23, 24, 189–99, 201–11, 215–32, 235–37, 274n12; captions by, 2, 4, 15–16, 24, 195, 203, 208, 235; Department of Culture and, 24, 127, 228, 230, 237, 279n77; on drawing, 221–22; Lévi-Strauss and, 128, 147, 273n5; *Macunaíma* by, 225, 276n36, 280n79; photography and, 190–97, 202–8, 216, 220–23, 226–27, 232, 235, 277n58; textual history of *O turista aprendiz*, 195, 225–27, 229, 278nn71–72. *See also* modernism
Andrade, Oswald de, 227, 279n74
Andrade Guimarães, Carlos Eugênio de, 48
Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society, 12, 19, 85, 98, 102, 113
Arana, Julio César, 85, 95, 98, 103–5. *See also* Casa Arana
Arinos, Afonso, 51
assimilation, 21, 22, 29, 68, 75, 131, 136, 166, 233; Andrade on, 209; Lévi-Strauss on, 8, 130, 158, 161
Augustine (Saint), 190, 273n7

Baldus, Herbert, 170
Bandeira, Manuel, 225
Banks, Marcus, 144
Barbadian employees, 85, 89–90, 95, 98, 99, 100, 106–7
Barros, Flávio de, 22, 27, 29, 31, 35, 43–62, 136, 240; exhibition by, 60–61; photographs in *Os sertões* by, 62–63, 69–81
Barthelmess, Richard, 216, 220
Barthes, Roland, 14–15, 152, 167
Belo Monte massacre. *See* Canudos Campaign
Bendegó meteorite, 38–39, 42, 238–39

Benício, Manuel, 41, 49, 51
Benjamin, Walter, 9, 10–11, 269n49, 270n60
Bernucci, Leopoldo, 70
Beverly, John, 258n17
Bilac, Olavo, 36
Bishop, Frederick, 89–90
Bittencourt, Carlos, 27
Boggiani, Guido, 162, 164–65, 168, 271nn70–71
Boltanski, Luc, 106
Boon, James, 127, 141, 264n10
Bora people, 12, 22, 88, 94, 100, 101
Bororo people, 129, 151, 153, 155, 161, 163, 164, 168–74, 175, 183
Botelho, André, 196, 211, 223, 273n5
Brady, Mathew, 38
Brazil Railway Company, 7–8, 199, 212
Brizuela, Natalia, 7, 44, 61, 244n3
Burroughs, Robert M., 87
butterflies, 4, 8, 202–4, 208, 217, 226–27

Calasans, José, 51, 245n5, 249n28
Campos Johnson, Adriana, 50, 77, 247n15
Cândido, Antônio, 69, 224, 246n15
cannibalism, 103, 105, 111, 152
Canudos Campaign, 6, 11, 21–22, 27–62, 239–40, 245n8, 248n24, 249n28, 249n31; in da Cunha, 16, 32, 50–51, 52, 61–81; initial criticism of, 253n64; other novels on, 51, 246n13; photographs of, 43–62, 136; survivors of, 51–52
captioning, 8, 14, 15–16, 77; Andrade and, 2, 4, 15–16, 24, 195, 203, 208, 235; Casement and, 96; da Cunha and, 63, 70–73; Lévi-Strauss and, 23, 129, 178–79, 183–84
Carroll, Lewis, 163
Carvalho da Cunha, Bernardo, 239
Casa Arana (J. C. Arana y Hermanos), 85, 89
Casement, Roger, 5, 12, 16, 17, 19, 22, 129, 131, 148, 235, 236–37, 257n3; in Africa, 85, 98–99, 102–3, 121; Irish nationalism and, 12, 21, 88, 99, 102–3, 112, 235, 237, 260n40; photography and, 84–97, 107, 114–16, 119–24, 125, 235; writing style of, 99, 260n38
Castro, Jorge de, 220–21, 222
Castro Faria, Luiz de, 129, 147, 159, 174, 183, 270n53
Cendrars, Blaise, 7, 227
Chaplin, Charlie, 217–18, 220
Charbonnier, Georges, 139
Church, George Earl, 190
Coelho Neto, Henrique Maximiano, 249n31
Coleman, Kevin, 7, 91
colonialism, 113–14, 118, 131, 148, 192
Columbus, Christopher, 148
Congo Reform Campaign, 85, 98–99
conquistar term, 93–94
Conselheiro, Antônio, 6, 21–22, 27–43, 77–78, 239, 245n5, 248n26; drawings of, 37–38; photograph of, 28, 31, 34–35, 39–40, 59–60, 63, 64, 77–79, 240
contagion, 211, 225
corpses, 11–12, 21–22, 27–35, 39, 40, 47–48, 54–60, 79
Costa Lima, Luiz, 67, 247n15
Cravo Neto, Mário, 51
cropping, 13, 14, 15, 136; Lévi-Strauss and, 23, 129, 157–58, 180
Cruz, Oswaldo, 212, 214–15
Curtis, Heather D., 18

da Cunha, Euclides, 5, 14, 16, 20–21, 22, 32–33, 131, 135, 235, 236, 246nn13–15; on Conselheiro, 29, 32, 41, 44, 50–51, 52, 61–81, 240; on ethical knowledge, 64–69; influence of, 246n13; Rondon and,

265n14; scholarship on *Os sertões*, 246n15, 254n74; Taine's influence on, 253n71, 254n73
Dantas Barreto, Émidio, 247n16, 252n55
Daston, Lorraine, 65
Davis, Mike, 245n8
Debaene, Vincent, 144, 146, 151, 161, 264n10, 268n44
debris, Lévi-Strauss and, 128, 149; photographs of, 11
de Certeau, Michel, 152–53, 158, 160
Derrida, Jacques, 190, 266n24, 273n7
determinism, 32, 65, 213. *See also* self-determination
deviance, 21, 28, 30
Dewey, John, 19, 101
Didi-Huberman, Georges, 101, 249n29
Dilthey, Wilhelm, 101

Echeverri, Juan Álvaro, 259n25
Edwards, Elizabeth, 14–15, 142
ekphrasis, 16, 256n97; in da Cunha, 22, 29, 80, 81, 88, 244n3
empiricism, 64–65, 88, 101–2
environmental exploitation, 3–4, 5, 8, 233–34, 246n14, 274n25
Estado Novo (Vargas regime), 23, 197, 229, 279n77
ethical knowledge, 17, 29, 64–69, 87–88, 122, 197, 254n74; defined, 10
ethnography, 13, 23–24, 86, 122, 134–35; Andrade and, 227–29, 273n5, 280nn79–80; French museums and, 268n44; Lévi-Strauss and, 127, 146; Malinowski and, 135
ethnology, 126–27
evidence, 85–86, 88, 90, 95, 101
evolution, 66, 67–68, 140, 236
exoticism, 158, 168, 169, 172, 190, 206
extractivism, 6, 13, 21, 83–84, 128, 189, 192, 194, 195, 197, 207, 233–34

Fabian, Johannes, 169–70, 270n63
face: of Chaplin, 217–18, 220, 221; of Conselheiro, 28, 32, 37, 42, 78–79; face painting, 156–58, 162–65, 183, 271n71; malarial faces, 24, 196
Fassin, Didier, 95
favelas, 81, 256n102
Ferreira da Silva, Denise, 65, 213, 241n6, 244n4
Figueiredo, Tatiana Longo, 227
First Republic, 279n77
Fitzcarraldo (Herzog), 84
Foot-Hardman, Francisco, 199, 247n15
Foucault, Michel, 215
Fragelli, Pedro, 230
François, Anne-Lise, 216–17
Freud, Sigmund, 9, 150, 152, 270n60

Gabara, Esther, 7, 196
Galison, Peter, 65
Galvão, Walnice Nogueira, 256n95
gaze: appropriative, 222; disinterested, 217–19; embodied, 190, 194, 223, 236; ethnographic, 103, 220; expansionist, 7–8; historicity of, 236; non-instrumental, 217; pedagogies of the, 4, 8, 10, 22, 87, 88, 119–20, 192, 197, 211, 219; scientific, 39, 60, 219; subjective, 190. *See also* looking
Geertz, Clifford, 170, 273n5
Gielgud, Henry, 92, 101, 107
global economy, 5–6, 8, 198, 208
Goodman, Jordan, 91–92, 119
Gordillo, Gastón R., 10, 11, 241n1
Grant, Kevin, 18
Green, Alice Stopford, 102
Green, Thomas Hill, 101
Grey, Edward, 98

Guana people, 163
Gunning, Tom, 36
Gutierrez, Juan, 43–44, 251n38, 251n45

Halluin, Estelle d', 95
Hardenburg, Walter, 84, 98, 103–4
Hine, Lewis, 19, 102
Hochman, Gilberto, 213
Huitoto people, 12, 13, 16, 22, 88, 94, 97, 100, 101, 107–11, 120–22, 208–10; Omarino and Ricudo (Arédomi), 113–18, 119, 122; photograph of scarred boy, 91–93, 95–96, 118
humanitarianism, 10, 11, 12, 19, 21, 84, 131, 136; Casement and, 22, 84, 89, 91, 98–99; history of, 18; photography and, 17–19, 243n37; term usage, 257n3

Ikishima, Artur, 51
Imbert, Claude, 127, 264n8
indexicality (of photographs), 10, 11, 38, 122–23, 129, 159, 167, 255n85; defined, 259n27, 282n7
Innes, Alfred Mitchell, 91
Ipureu, Roberto, 170–71, 172

Jacobs, Carol, 148–49
Jakobson, Roman, 127
James, William, 101
Janes, Henry, 93
João VI, 238

Kadiwéu people, 8, 21, 128, 129, 153, 155, 157, 161–69, 171, 172, 174, 175–76; art of, 162–65, 271nn70–71
Kaingang people, 8, 160–61
Keaton, Buster, 218
Kepkiriwát people, 133–35, 136
Kloppenberg, James, 19, 101
Kunigami, Keiji, 196, 205, 211, 223

labor and laborers, 4, 5, 6, 91, 103, 274n25; Andrade on, 24, 1951, 198–99, 209–11; *sertanejos*, 20–22. *See also* malaria
Lako, Carlos, 130
Laqueur, Thomas, 18
Leiris, Michel, 268n44, 269n44
Leopold II, 99
Léry, Jean de, 148, 190
Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 5, 8, 14, 16, 21, 23–24, 126–30, 138–87, 189, 190, 195, 228, 235–36; on art, 139–41, 266n26, 266n28, 267nn31–32, 267nn36–37; emotional style of, 175, 272n86; indifference to avant-garde, 269n49; on memory, 149–52; on myth, 141, 151; photography and, 23, 126, 128–29, 138, 142–46, 152–87, 235, 239, 269n49, 271n70, 272n75
Lévi-Strauss, Dina, 23, 24, 126, 127, 129, 147, 157, 159, 174, 228, 270n53
Lévi-Strauss, Matthieu, 183, 187, 273n89
Lima, Jorge de, 220
Lima, Nísia Trindade, 211, 213, 223
Lombroso, Cesare, 118
looking: modes of, 9; phenomenology of, 8, 191, 194, 198; politics of, 12, 16–17, 21, 196, 236; practices of, 6–7, 20
Lopez, Telê Porto Ancona, 195–96, 226, 227
Louro, José, 130
Lovelace, Carl, 212–13
Lowie, Robert, 272n87
Lyra, João, 130

Machado de Assis, Joaquim Maria, 247n18, 250n36; on Conselheiro and Canudos, 6, 28–29, 30, 33, 35–40, 42–43, 239, 248n26, 249n31; on photography, 6
Madeira-Mamoré Railway, 3–4, 23, 24, 126, 195, 198–206, 214, 274n25
malaria, 24, 195–96, 210–19, 223

Malinowski, Bronisław, 135, 144, 145, 159
Marinetti, Filippo Tommaso, 7
Martins, Luciana, 7, 165, 170–71, 196, 271n71
Mauad, Ana Maria, 48
Mauss, Marcel, 160, 269n44, 272n87
Mbaya people, 163
Mendonça, Lúcio de, 62
Merquior, José Guilherme, 267nn31–32
Merrill, Dana, 7–8, 199–202, 274n25
Miranda Curió, José de, 31
Mitchell, Angus, 86–87, 118
Mitchell, Timothy, 113
Mitchell, W. J. T., 56, 80, 81, 256n97
modernism: Andrade and, 24, 192, 197–98, 227–32, 279n74; coffee aristocracy and, 274n20; da Cunha and, 70
modernization (and modernity), 4–5, 6, 7–9, 12, 20–21, 24–25, 136, 137, 140; Andrade and, 189–90, 195, 203, 211; Casement and, 84; contemporary, 233–35; da Cunha and, 29, 33, 66, 74–75, 80; defined, 241n4; divergent views on, 17; *homo modernus*, 241n6, 245n4; Lévi-Strauss and, 128
montage, 10; Andrade and, 205, 208; 223; Barthes on, 14–15; Casement and, 122; Lévi-Strauss and, 23, 150
Morais, Prudente de, 48
morality, 101, 106
Moreira César, Antônio, 39, 40–41
Morel, E. D., 115, 257n3
Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), 38, 42, 133, 147, 237–39

Nambikwara people, 129–30, 138–40, 147, 153, 159, 164, 174–79, 183, 184–85
Navitski, Rielle, 37, 61
New Imperialism, 99
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 190, 273n7
Nina Rodrigues, Raimundo, 27, 30–31, 36, 42, 254n73
Nogueira, Margarida Guedes (Mag), 198, 228
Novaes, Sylvia Caiuby, 171
Nunes, Favila, 41

O'Callaghan, Margaret, 87
Oscar, Arthur, 27, 31, 48
otherness, 15, 16, 22, 30, 42, 68, 80, 90, 160, 178, 245n4, 270n63

Paternoster, Sydney (Scrutator), 84–85
Pedro II, 38–39, 245n7
Penteado, Olívia Guedes, 198, 215, 220, 227, 228–29, 231
Peruvian Amazon Company (PAC), 84–85, 90, 91, 93, 98, 99–101, 103–9, 111, 118–20
photography, 4–5, 6–10, 11–17, 125, 135, 234–35, 239–40; anthropometric, 116, 262n65; Benjamin on, 9; death and, 39, 249n30; documentary, 102, 115, 255n85; ethics and, 22–23; humanitarian, 17–18; landscape, 7; memory and, 9; negative views of, 125–26; physiognomy and, 35–36; reformist, 18–19; "social biographies" of photographs, 14; Sontag on, 15, 17–18; technological developments in, 6, 21, 43, 44–45, 87, 125, 250n37; temporality of, 4, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17, 135, 150, 189, 195, 221. *See also* captioning; cropping; indexicality; *and under featured writers*
photojournalism, 21, 43, 61, 250n37
physiognomy, 35–36, 42, 78, 106, 118
Pinney, Christopher, 138, 144, 145, 152, 185
Poignant, Roslyn, 144, 145
Poole, Deborah, 12, 262n61
positivism, 7, 35, 65, 80
Poussin, Nicolas, 141

Price, Rachel, 78
Prosser, Jay, 166, 272n73
Proust, Marcel, 149–50, 151
psychiatry, 35, 42
psychoanalysis, 150
Putumayo atrocities, 5, 12, 16, 17, 85–112, 118–19; Select Committee on, 86

race issues: da Cunha and, 66–68; miscegenation, 30–31, 66–67; racialities, 19, 245n4; racialization, 6, 22, 64, 66, 214; racial knowledge, 22; scientific racism, 30, 36, 118, 236; tropical medicine and, 277n45, 277n48
railways, 2, 3–4, 5, 7–8. *See also* Madeira-Mamoré Railway
reforms and reformism, 18–19, 68
Reis, Luiz Thomaz, 130, 136–37
representation, 16, 20, 23, 66; Lévi-Strauss and, 140, 142
responsibility, 17, 19, 86, 88, 105–6; collective, 13; ethical, 217; moral, 87, 101; political, 104
Revolta Armada, 43–44
Reyes, Rafael, 103
Roberts, Charles, 86
Robuchon, Eugène, 104–5, 262n52
Rodriguez Lira, Manuel, 104
Rondon, Candido Mariano da Silva, 130–36, 138, 147, 263n2
Rondon Commission (Comissão Rondon), 8, 129–30, 135–38, 159, 174, 182–83, 263n2
Rosenbaum, Charlotte, 130, 136–37
Rosenberg, Fernando, 227
Rothenstein, William, 135
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 182, 236, 266n24
rubber industry, 3, 5, 12, 13, 17, 20–21, 22–23, 83–84, 120, 187, 189, 212; advanced vs. primitive systems, 260n35; in Africa, 98–99, 102; Casement on, 85, 94, 97, 98–99, 119
rubble, 3, 6, 10–11, 241n1
Ruby, Jay, 144
ruins, 10–11, 54, 57–59, 130, 234, 239–40; “ruin-gazing,” 57, 252n58

Sahlins, Marshall, 265n23
Saldaña Rocca, Benjamin, 98
salvage anthropology, 116, 122
Sánchez Labrador, José, 162–63
Santos, Silvino, 104
Scarry, Elaine, 11, 91
scars, 11, 22, 84, 88, 89, 91, 95, 101, 120
seeing. *See* gaze; looking
Sekula, Alan, 40
self-determination, 65–66, 73, 241n6, 245n4
Serra do Norte Expedition, 129, 174
sertão and *sertanejos* defined, 20–21
Serviço de Proteção ao Índio (SPI), 130, 136, 147, 161, 263n2
Simonis, Yvan, 267n31
Sliwinski, Sharon, 18
Smith, Amanda, 275n27
social Darwinism, 30, 32, 35
Sontag, Susan, 15, 17–18, 77, 104
Souza, Gilda de Mello e, 280n80
Spanish imperialism, 99–100
spectatorship. *See* looking
Spencer, Herbert, 35, 254n73
Stepan, Nancy, 212
Stoler, Ann, 10–11
structuralism, 127, 150, 152, 162, 173, 267n31
Sweet, Timothy, 56–57
symbolism, 162–63, 169

Taine, Hippolyte, 32, 65, 253n69, 253n71
Taussig, Michael, 87, 95, 99, 178
Tavares, Odorico, 51
telegraph lines (and telegraphy), 4, 5, 23, 39, 48, 126, 136. *See also* Rondon Commission
testimonies, 87, 90, 95, 258n17
Thomson, John, 115, 117

Tiriyó people, 133
top hats, 40, 249n31, 250n34
tourism, 3–4, 24, 146. *See also* Andrade, Mário
"trace" concept, 9–10, 12
Trachtenberg, Alan, 18–19, 102, 261n44
trees: Casement on, 94; fires and, 233; lumber, 194, 208; in photographs, 93, 159; scars on, 22, 93
Tsing, Anna, 6, 8, 11, 189, 235
Tupi-Kawahib people, 128, 129, 151, 155, 164, 174–75, 179–82, 183–84; Mundé group, 180–82
Tuyuka and Tukano people, 136–37

Uriarte, Javier, 258n16

Vargas, Getúlio. *See* Estado Novo
Vellard, Jean, 129, 147, 174
Verger, Pierre, 51
Veríssimo, José, 62, 246n15
Vida de uma aldeia Bororo, A (Baker), 170–17
Vier von der Infanterie (Pabst), 205

Ward, Herbert, 114–15
Webb, Sidney, 101
Whiffen, Thomas, 90
Wiseman, Boris, 163, 166, 264n10, 267n31
Wounded Knee massacre, 43
Wylie, Lesley, 113, 262n64

Zilly, Berthold, 50, 70

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